

December, 1926

25 Cents

# Labor Age

The National Monthly

## On with the Scrap!

1. The Hidden Men
2. What We Face

## How Shall Labor Deal With Its Dissenters?

Witchcraft in Puritania

Calhoun on "American History"

Opium Dreams  
The Sacred Cow

Paying for W. Education  
First Blood at Passaic

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# Labor Age

The National Monthly

25 Cents per Copy

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Presenting all the facts about American labor—Believing that the goal of the American labor movement lies in industry for service, with workers' control.

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## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE:

M. H. HEDGES, Director, Speakers' Bureau, affiliated with International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; member, staff, Electrical Workers' Journal.

ISRAEL MUFSON, Secretary, Philadelphia Labor College.

CHARLES L. REED, Educational Director, Salem Central Labor Union, whose organization is carrying on a fine piece of work in practical workers' education.

A. J. MUSTE, Chairman, Faculty, Brookwood Workers' College, whose wide knowledge of all groups in the Movement makes his contribution of especial value.

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# Labor Age

The National Monthly

## On with the Scrap!

INCLUDING: WHAT'S WRONG WITH THIS PICTURE?



*Eyes on the rails, testing hammer in hand, the track walker by day inspects the railroad's right of way and makes minor repairs. At night his task requires even more skill.*

*His patrol is then reduced in length, the number of his tours is increased, and all his attention is concentrated on safeguarding the long trains that rush by in the darkness.*

## SENTRIES who guard a front 11,000 miles long

**B**EHOLD the above piece of advertising art! Fasten your gaze upon it. It is taken from the anti-Labor "Saturday Evening Post" of November 6th—part of a full-page ad of the Pennsylvania Railroad, head and front of Scabbery.

In words that sob and thrill, this enemy of the workers recounts the heroic deeds of the men who guard its trackway. Neither heat nor cold, blazing sun nor biting wind or tempest, halt them in their eternal round of watchfulness. Out of this wondrous story, we are led to feel completely at ease in traveling on the Pennsylvania lines.

**BUT**—ah! what a word—what do these faithful souls,

so widely sung, receive for their careful labors? **ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS** a month, or thereabouts! And the Pennsylvania Railroad, with its non-union mechanics, has the world's record for big and complete wrecks.

Here is part of the challenge, brothers. It is up to us to nail lies of this sort on the head. The daily press and standard magazines are full of them. It is part of the job before us. Let us get into the scrap. Use the "hidden men" mentioned in the following article; inform ourselves on the schemes and resources of the Open Shoppers, such as Mr. Dunn gives us. With this knowledge: arouse our communities, educate the unorganized, and give no quarter until Unionism is re-established in our basic industries!



# Organizing the Hidden Men

By M. H. HEDGES

## I.

### "SELLING" THE UNION IDEA

**M**OST all of us have had the experience of growing fearsomely angry over trifles. What Jerry says to us may make us laugh, but when Tom says it, we boil inside, and lash out with first or tongue. Tom just somehow grates on us. He's a fine fellow, and all that, but we just can't get along with him. It isn't so much what he says, as the way he says it. When we analyze it thus, we are admitting that communication is not a mere matter of words. Communication is a matter of a good deal more—hidden elements which may exist without our knowing it between individuals. Let us, for sake of discussion, write it down thus:

Communication is a matter of  
Words  
Ideas  
Emotions

For want of a better word, we will call all these mysterious sub-conscious points and currents of attraction and antipathy between men, by the common word, emotions.

It is upon an understanding of these inner hungers—what is usually lumped under the expression "human nature"—that success in union organization depends. In the commercial world, the organizers for employers and for Big Business have a phrase of which they are very fond. They speak of "selling the idea". If you study their salesmanship you will find that the means by which they sell ideas is through an appeal to fundamental emotions.

Take down the SATURDAY EVENING POST and study the advertisements a little while. Note how many turn upon sex appeal. "The skin you love to touch"; "Preserve that school-girl complexion"; the car the lady of the house delights in owning; the cigarette that your sweetheart loves to have you smoke; and the suit of clothes that makes you look strong, aggressive, handsome and very male. Here are ads that also appeal to everyone's desire to be superior;—most all the advertising of correspondence schools is of this kind, and the religions of uplift, while much of the advertising of toothpaste and antiseptics is an effort to play on a man's sense of inferiority. A prominent radio firm tries to sell its product by describing the instrument in terms of massiveness, power and durable strength, qualities we all respect. The unconscious grip of beauty upon our senses is often used as a bait to capture our allegiance to merchandise. A recent advertisement for Duco paint was done in color. Down the center was splattered a many-colored waterfall. There is no real connection between cascades and Duco, but they are connected in our experience by the subtle publicity man, and forever after we are prejudiced in favor of the paint. These, then, are some of the fundamental appeals made by advertisers:

to sex, to the desire to be superior, and to sensuous beauty.

We know how in the last presidential campaign—and in the campaign before that, and in the one before that—in fact ever since Mark Hanna's squat, sinister figure walked upon the political scene, fear has ruled the vote. In doubtful states, in 1924, the word went out through department store heads, through bank heads, through political heads, that if La Follette were elected, factories would be shut down and devastation would walk the land. It's an old ruse, but it never fails. Our reason may tell us that La Follette should be elected; our loyalty to a noble leader may assert itself, but when the old primitive fear for self-preservation begins to wake, we march right up to the ballot box and vote for Cal and prosperity.

Politicians don't make only an appeal to fear for the job. They prey upon other subconscious fears. Sex-jealousy, for instance, ruined the Non-Partisan Political League in the Northwest. The whispering tongues, tattling, titling, insinuating that free love was the sole objective of Townley and his crowd drove thousands away from the League. The same innuendo was used against Brookhart this year in Iowa. No one doubts that polygamy prevails in practice pretty generally in all strata of society, and yet "nationalization of women" has lost more friends to working-class Russia than nationalization of mines.

So the hidden man rules all of us. He rules us against our wills, against our reason, our judgment, against our own self-interest.

One would think that most men could learn to act out of their own self-interest. But it is not always true. Thousands of workingmen throughout the United States in company-unionized shops are today acting against their own self-interest. For they are beset by appeals to one or another deeply-inlaid sentiment: to everyone's natural desire to be loyal; or to everyone's natural desire to have comfort and beauty; or to everyone's natural pride in himself.

## II.

### APPEALS THAT MOVE MEN

It is proposed further in this brief and necessarily disconnected study to consider those appeals to fundamental emotions that the labor movement has made to men. For it must not be supposed that a movement as large, as cohesive, as successful as the union movement is, can triumph over the obstacles, the daring and powerful opposition it has, without having engaged men's profoundest emotions.

It is proposed also to see if there are not other appeals the labor movement can legitimately make that it is not now making, which will widen its influence.

Most obviously, the first appeal organized labor makes to men is that to intelligent self-interest. We know men do not always act out of self-interest. Indeed, we might



pause right here to read a large group of political philosophers a lecture, for these philosophers assume that these men act out of self-interest. But they don't. Organized labor has taught men to do this necessary thing. For what kind of a world would it be, if suddenly we all started to act against our own self-interest? We would become a race of slaves and morons.

Second, organized labor has appealed strongly, to what Veblen calls the instinct of craftsmanship. Here is the strongest reason why the craft union idea endures. Men respect and love good workmanship. They will fight for the right to perform a good, workmanlike job. The union has always been hospitable to this sentiment in men. And it is the fact that mass production and the automatic machine have killed craftsmanship which makes organized labor so cold to their highly touted virtues.

Third, organized labor has appealed to men's gregarious instincts. Call these instincts the propensity to work together, the comradely or brotherly motives. They are stronger than we think. German and French soldiers fraternized in No Man's Land, and had to be whipped back to the trenches in order to take up the work of blood-letting. They would have preferred to be bending shoulder to shoulder over jobs at farm and mills. No doubt much of the real dissatisfaction with the present order of society arises because it does not give enough expression to the cooperative spirit.

Fourth, the labor movement has appealed to man's sense of the heroic. It is untrue that men love only luxury and ease. If they did, who would go to war; who would search for Arctic lands; who would build bridges and dig a subway and erect skyscrapers? William James has written brilliantly of this human habit in his "Moral Equivalent of War". The sacrifice, the struggle, the anonymous service that is part of the daily routine of the labor unionist's job intrigues men just as parenthood intrigues men. Militant types—men like Gompers, Debs and Liebknecht—make their strongest appeal to the rank and file of the labor movement, for they incarnate the spirit of the struggle. The charm the labor movement is having for the youth of the world is in part the spell exercised by hard, soul-striving sacrifice and labor.

### III.

#### THE PAST, POWER AND PIONEERING

Organizers for labor unions could well stress other sets of values than those already enumerated. To be sure, much of the practical organization work is done under the lash of immediacy. The appeal to self-interest, to necessity, must be made, and often is enough to carry a man into the union. But getting a man into the union is only a part of the organization job. It is to make him

stay organized, make him a union man, and his children and children's children union men that is the real task. This, of course, is a matter of education, and here is where the Workers' Education Bureau and publications like *LABOR AGE* can be of great help. They can stress what might be called the secondary appeals of the labor movement. They can "sell" the labor union to the labor unionist. They can make every man, woman and child glad and proud that there is a federation of workers touching hands across the world in pursuits of peace.

How to do this?

First, we can appeal to every man's respect for the past. Ancestor worship is still a driving force in human lives. What about the past of labor? Who are the labor leaders of yesterday? Where is there an adequate story of the struggles of past years? We need labor poets, novelists and historians. Most of the chronicles of labor have been written by professors who have treated it as a surgeon treats a patient under the knife. The heroic, ludicrous, human, ridiculous, obscene, and tragic everyday stories have gone unrecorded. We should see that better records of present struggles are kept, for the present is to be tomorrow's past. It is to be hoped that publishing houses interested in labor's brave and gay tradition will multiply. It is hoped that labor plays will find their way to Broadway theatres and labor movies will speak to millions.

Second, we can cease to be ashamed of the labor movement. We can cease to be apologetic about it. We can cease to think of manual labor as inferior work. We can give up the white-collar spirit of cringe and smirk. We can make the appeal not so much in the "spirit of help the underdog" as in the spirit of "join the pioneers."

Third, we can increase the individual unionist's sense of power. This, of course, is what the union does anyway, but we can make each individual unionist conscious that he is a more important citizen, a more effective citizen by virtue of his union. All unions as they cooperate affect national, industrial and political policies. Unorganized citizens, unless peculiarly situated, are powerless to affect the direction of industrial society. Men organized are not powerless. Unions do. The civic and public force of union organization can act as a strong selling point to most workers.

I have been describing what is happening in a small way. I predict that it will happen in a large way. Learning on these larger values of collective life and effort, strengthening them, we can go forward more rapidly and confidently to union organization. Organization, we must remember, is more than enlisting huge numbers. It is discovering and isolating the labor tradition, then battling down obstacles to the growth of that tradition, and feeding it with the food it needs for mature growth.

#### USING PRACTICAL PSYCHOLOGY

We hope that this article by Brother Hedges will be read over and over. We CAN organize the workers of this country. We CAN capture the basic industries for Unionism. The job requires some knowledge of Practical Psychology.

Being able to look into the mind of the other fellow. Being able to appeal to him in those terms that arouse and move him. That is the task ahead for trade unionists.



# What We Face

## *The Open Shoppers in Action*

By ROBERT W. DUNN

"In his inimitable style, Mr. Pierce E. Wright, Secretary of the Associated Building Employers of Detroit, will recite the manner in which the industrial and business executives of that city 'anticipated' Mr. Green's visit."

**W**E quote from the program of the Tenth Semi-Annual American Plan-Open Shop Conference which opens in Dallas, Texas, as this magazine goes to press. We are very sorry we shall be unable to attend as we should like to hear Mr. Wright report to the open shoppers on his various manouvers against the American Federation of Labor Convention when it met in Detroit in October. Item Number One on the program is "What Happened at Detroit." The American Plan heroes of the automobile metropolis will tell their fellow business men just how they did it. This ought to be a juicy session.

Just what is this American Plan-Open Shop Conference? Workers ought to know something about it for it seems to be the most bitter and blatant of all the national organizations dedicated to what they ironically call "freedom in employment". In last month's *LABOR ACE* we indicated what this "freedom" means—the so-called God-given right of John Doe, steel worker, to enter into individual bargaining relationship over wages, hours and working conditions with the United States Steel Corporation.

The American Plan-Open Shop Conference is a loose association of employers and employers' associations established in 1922. The business units comprising it had just finished the job of deflating labor unions in hundreds of communities. They decided to club together to hold their gains and to carry the offensive further into union territory. The leaders in the new federation of employers were such western anti-union groups as the Associated Industries of Utah, the Associated Industries of Seattle and the Employers Association of Kansas City. Open shop bodies known variously as associated industries, employers associations, merchants and manufacturers associations, industrial associations, and federal industries, sent their representatives to the first conference, and they have been meeting since at semi-annual intervals.

This November conference at Dallas is typical of their periodical get-togethers. The slogan used in the calling of the conference is "We must build our redoubts." Against what? "Against the destructive forces now operating throughout the world." The words are taken from an address by the distinguished reactionary Charles Evans Hughes. What are the "destructive forces?" The Open Shop Conference answers, "the labor unions."

### Those Anti-American Unions

Under the title "Hold High the Torch of Industrial Freedom" the conference announcers refer to the Amer-

ican Federation of Labor's union campaigns in the following language: "Day and night, without surcease, these enemies of American institutions are striking at the very foundations of our industrial peace, social unity and economic development. How futile then for any man even to attempt to cope with these perilous situations unaided, isolated, alone."

What does this strong talk mean? Simply that these strong talkers are committed to a policy of destroying labor unions just as fast as they can get at them. And that in pursuit of these ends they believe in organization of employers—of themselves. In fact these semi-annual confabs of bosses have no other purpose but to strengthen the organization of the employers, to solidify the corporation forces for further drives on American trade unions.

At the Dallas convention the open shoppers take up the practical question of tactics and methods to be pursued to smash labor organizations and defeat the purposes of the labor movement. Look over the program and you find they are preparing carefully the open shop drives of the next six months. Under the heading "Restoring Industrial Freedom to a Closed Shop Community" we read that "the conference at this point will resolve itself into a board of strategy and step by step will give the course to pursue to storm the outposts, destroy the defenses of union domination and turn over to the besieged community the gift of industrial freedom." That ought to be an interesting session; also the one at which they discuss "Selling the Open Shop to the Workman." Big business Babbitts will tell "how they have succeeded in immunizing their men against that dreaded industrial disease—the closed shop." The "closed shop" is, of course, the union shop which the labor movement has struggled decades to achieve in scattered trades and industries. The American Planners with their company unions, employee stock ownership schemes, group insurance, industrial pensions and miscellaneous uplift, intend to smash to smithereens this labor gain—the union shop.

Then the Conference will take up "Subversive Influences in Our Public Schools," which means that they will plan to get rid of teachers who have an occasional good word for labor unions. They will discuss also "The Office-Holder and the Open Shop"—which means they will lay out plans for stricter control over their business puppets in public office so that they can always count on mayors and chiefs of police and legislators to serve their interests. (See the record of the local politicians in the Passaic strike and in the New York strike of the Cloak Makers.)

### Open Shop Publicity

Reports from the various industries are made and the progress union-wrecking campaigns are making are also on the program at these conferences. One item that



should be a challenge to labor to improve and strengthen its press is the one which reads, "Constructing an Open Shop Publicity Program" with this suggestive explanation, "Men who know the publicity game [God knows the American Planners have plenty of money to hire them.—Ed.] will show how our dim and flickering lights can be taken out from under the bushel and made to blaze forth to enlighten the public on the real issues of the Open Shop."

Finally they have on the program, "Mobilizing the Open Shop Forces of America." Yes, "under a supreme command, with all forces co-operating," they will advance to battle with the hosts of trade unionism. And at this conference they promise to "hold solemn council on how to meet unity with unity."

A survey of the proceedings of past conventions of this "militant, determined, intelligent" American Plan Association shows us in more detail its true sentiments with respect to the labor movement. At its Kansas City conference held in April, 1925, the convention took a vigorous stand against unionism in the building trades. Open shoppers always get mad and hysterical when the building trades are mentioned because it is against these unions that they have been able to make the least headway. At this conference the consensus was that "there should be no agreements either real or implied with labor unions." However, many of the conference members have been forced to eat their words on that subject. The building trades unions are still healthy and going strong much to the chagrin of these "champions of industrial freedom," as they call themselves.

The Kansas City Convention also told the business boys how to organize employment and blacklisting agencies in their communities. "The most successful employment agencies maintain an exact card index system giving *all necessary information* on each applicant." Thus they are able to furnish strike-breakers. "American Plan workmen" and denatured, immunized, chloroformed, non-union employees on demand.

#### "Dangerous Industrial Unionism"

The conference held at Kansas City was interested also in "The New A. F. of L. Leadership." Employers, we hardly need point out, especially these militant types, are likely to follow developments in the labor movement more closely than the organized worker himself. In discussing the A. F. of L. this convention reported. "One outstanding question is: Will there be a veering away from craft unionism to industrial unionism? Does it mean the development of two rival organizations representing these two viewpoints? What can industrial executives do to anticipate these contingencies?"

Which makes it as clear as a pike-staff that the open shoppers are simply lusting for a split in labor's ranks. They would give their last precious strike-breaker if they could bring about such a split. They are watching the labor movement like vampires. They advise the local employers: "It will be well for them to be close observers of developments under Mr. Green's leadership. Watch the national plans. Observe the tendency in your local labor circles."

When the Conference came together last November in San Diego these employers again sounded the call

for a closer and tighter organization—of themselves. Reporting on the printing industry the committee advised that "no matter how few or many shops there may be operating on the Open Shop, they should be bound closely together in an organization." Organize, organize, organize, is the continuing refrain of these planners who are determined at the same time to kill all organization of workers.

Again they stress the importance of influencing the public schools with their open shop dogma. They instruct their followers: "Industrial associations must accept the responsibility of seeing to it that the teachers have the *right attitude of mind* toward industrial questions (italics ours). The antecedents of teachers and supervisors should be known."

As for the Labor Day parade, one of the best methods of keeping up labor union enthusiasm, the conference reported. "The introduction of the automobile and the accessibility of places of amusement have made the Labor Day parade an anachronism. It should not be revived." Even on the capitalist-captured Labor Day workers should not celebrate. Let them turn out in their installment plan flivvers or spend their dough at the shooting gallery, the burlesques, or the hot dog emporium. These are the instructions of the "industrial freedom" tacticians. And how subtle they think they are in their strategy! They even go so far as to instruct the employer: "Learn to speak the workman's language. Speak as one business man to another." Because the worker is really a business man, they contend, or at least so long as the employee stock ownership boom continues. "The fact that laboring men are investing their money in various corporations in the country indicates their better realization of business principles."

#### "Educating" the Workers

"Employee education" is also stressed in the report of that conference. "Educate the young employe as well as the old to save money. Introduce him to a bank. Start him with a savings account. Take away his interest in deadly propaganda that emanates from destructive sources (by this they mean trade unions.—Ed.) Encourage workmen to read periodicals and magazines that exert a wholesome influence." Presumably not LABOR AGE!

At the last conference of this organization held in Detroit, May 26-28, 1926, "anticipating", as it admits, the A. F. of L. convention there, it boasts that "by degrees it attracted the attention of the largest industrialists in America" and that it has now proved its claim "to a fountain head of inspiration and guidance on the problems of human relationship in industry". It boasts that "Through this medium the Open shop is assuming real significance, a definite meaning and a well-understood objective". It speaks of the "men of vision" who attend its conferences. It gives its seal of approval to company unionism and yellow doggism when it announces as one of the items in its code, "Employers shall deal directly with their employes either as individuals or as groups" which means through company unions if found necessary and advisable to head off real unionism.

This conference listed in its minutes some of the effects of the open shop: "It removes the irritations of



IN SELF-DEFENSE

Concerning Violent and Vitriolic Language

SOME good souls among our readers, on the outskirts of the Labor Movement, have protested against my use of "violent and vitriolic language." Happily, no such criticism has come from that 98 per cent of our readers in the ranks of labor itself.

One has even suggested that I "should think more in terms of love and less of hate." As this may be the thought of some others of those who scan these pages, I hasten to make public answer, in self-defense. Love is expressed everywhere, so far as life can tell us anything, in hatred of its opposite. He who loves virtue, hates sin; he who loves freedom, hates slavery. Any other sort of "love" is merely a wishywashy sentimental excuse for Do-nothingism. Love for workers' freedom can only express itself in bitter and fiery attack upon the Hypocrites and Crooks in high places who seek to re-make the workers into slaves.

There was a Man in Palestine once upon a time who has been credited with being Love itself. From no other lips has there issued such vituperation as came from His. "Vipers" and "Whited Sepul-

chres" were terms which he applied to his enemies, the Pharisees. And in our own glorious Abolition struggle, against negro slavery, Wendell Phillips put his case thus:

"Men blame us for the bitterness of our language and the personality of our attacks. It results from our position. The great mass of the people can never be made to stay and argue a long question. They must be made to feel it through the hides of their idols."

Through the hides of the idols of Corruption and Idleness, sitting on our benches, in our Cabinets and in our industrial offices, it is my intention to reach the people, inasfar as I have power to do so. Not merely by namby-pamby general terms, but by specific names and direct accusations, do I propose to continue, more violently and more vitriolically, to tear the mask of "respectability" from these Fakes and Frauds stalking through the land as Judges, Cabinet officers, Presidents or what not. For the whole putrid outfit, honest men can have but hatred and contempt.

LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ.

outside interference", "removes sub-conscious class antagonisms", "produces the family spirit in all departments in the plant"; and significantly enough, we are told that the Open Shop "permits men of means to anticipate the future without the cloud of industrial warfare on the horizon"; and furthermore that "class consciousness is removed" and "irritating forces that would divide society are put in quarantine". This is all very comforting to a capitalist.

In its instructions on "How to Keep an Open Shop Community Open" this conference advised local industrial associations to "keep ministers, teachers, public officials and public lecturers on your mailing list", and added that "the industrial association should not consider the community secure as long as there exists a single closed shop industry in that community". It suggests also that "financial and building interests should be brought to the point that they will confine their awards to Open Shop contractors". Then this alarming observation to the publicity director of the local open shop association: "It will be found that editorial and news writers are too often saturated with socialism. The educational process should therefore be directed to that department." Think of it. The capitalist press writers are simply stinking with socialism and possibly they have even been contaminated with the dreaded labor union doctrines. They must be saved through pitiless prodding by the professional open shop press agents. The Ivy Lees can cash in heavily on this advice!

Page Mr. Marvin!

And finally if the open shop employer wants to get the real lown-down on the "Disintegrating Forces In America" including, of course, the LABOR AGE, he "should confer with Mr. Fred Marvin, Editor-in-Chief of the New York Commercial, who is a recognized authority on this illuminating and interesting subject". Louis Budenz can tell you all about Freddy, head of the Key Movement.

These are merely a few high lights in the story of the American Plan Open Shop Conference which at its last conference counted representatives of some 120 local, state and industrial associations from San Francisco to Bridgeport, Conn. They come together twice a year to confer on the best tactics for defeating trade unionism. They are organized. And they believe in bigger and better organization all the time to fight unionism. They are among the most active elements in the drive to prevent the A. F. of L. from organizing the unorganized. They comprise a standing challenge to the whole labor movement in the United States. If Detroit is to be organized these associations must be faced and fought. If the company unions are to be driven back and the workers won for genuine labor unionism it will be only after a bitter and intense struggle with the employers' organizations united in the American Plan Open Shop Conference. (A full list of their names will be furnished any trade union official who sends in a request to the editor of LABOR AGE).



# New Witchcraft In Puritania

*In Which We Learn of Leather Lungs and Fairy Godmothers*

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

**H**IDES. Thousands of them. Some painted reddish brown; some painted black. Drying in the sun. Shining in the sun. Stinking in the sun, so forcefully that my lungs choked, even out there in the open. A giddy feeling hit the pit of my stomach—and it's a thorough-tested, democratic, hardened stomach, at that.

We were walking through the grounds of the "river works" of the A. C. Lawrence Leather Company—"Buck" Reed and I. We had no business to be there. Blue and white signs, innumerable, omnipresent, reminded us at every twist and turn of the road that we should get out. "Penalties" were mentioned as the fate of trespassers. But "Buck" has been an actor in not a few strike dramas, and artificial boundary lines daunt him but little.

So we persisted in our sin of disobedience, until we had covered the whole length of the road and followed it right into the last brick building on the grounds. It was the hour of noon, and most of the workers had stopped their operations for the lunch time. A few were still wrestling with hides that were to be covered with the black or reddish stuff. The air was foul. A mighty stench went up from every corner of the place. It sank into our clothes, penetrated our pores, rushed to our lungs.

## A Stench That Destroys

A violent fit of coughing drove me back into the roadway. Chemical poisons in the "paint" could do what signs had failed to accomplish: put us to rout. We beat a retreat through the field of hides, the odor sweeping us on as though it were an attack of poison gas.

Men with blackened hands passed us by, indifferently. Girls, utterly unconcerned, had been walking across the room of horrors from which we had escaped. Apparently they had become "used" to this knock-out stench, even as natives of Mexico are supposed to become "immune" to yellow fever. We paused for a moment in the "eating rooms"—barn-like structures, with the toilets tumbling close to the rude tables at which the men made the best of their repast. Blackened hands picked up the food and put it in their mouths!

With a sigh of relief, we got back to the highway. Green fields lay all around the "works", there on the outskirts of Peabody, in the state of Massachusetts. Beyond was the little stream which gives the place its name, Waters River. On the slope further on could be seen the church spires and roofs of the town of Danvers.

A peaceful scene. Yes, but in part also a scene of Disease and Death. You may get used to that stench, but it will also get used to you. It will grip you and eat you, until "softening of the lungs" sets in and tuberculosis follows. "Leather lungs" in this case are not

lungs of brass; they are lungs destroyed by insidious wasting away.

## A Royal Wage

As compensation for this dance with danger, a benevolent corporation has bestowed upon the Lawrence workers—a company union and the royal average wage of from \$21 to \$23 per week. The wage and the "union"—known officially as the Assembly—cover the two plants which lie just off the public square in Peabody, as well as the "river works". Four thousand workers in all, including some 3,500 men, are the recipients of this highly American wage, which allows so much surplus for sickness, death and other amusements in this Land of Milk and Honey!

The nature of the work may be more healthful at the plants in the center of the city than at "the Japan", as the river works is called. Men and management seem agreed on that. But the wages and other working conditions are not a whit more decent than those that prevail out on the edge of the city.

Interested to see what this additional contribution to Company Unionism might mean, I again wormed my way into the confidence of the men subject to it. Lounging about the various street corners of Peabody, particularly at Railroad Avenue and Center Street, I pieced together just what is happening in this vassal state of the Swift interests. A. C. Lawrence Company, be it said, is owned and controlled by the Swift packing group.

"This is a place in which the hand of Swift is to be seen everywhere," an old philosopher said to me. "The hides, the hoofs, the horns of the animals give us our livelihood. Tanning, glue, fertilizer factories—all grown out of this, and Swift can be found at the bottom of each of them!"

The leather workers in this packers' domain had long been slaves, when in 1915 the message of unionism first came among them. An independent organization—the United Leather Workers, not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor—grew up in the plants. By 1917, with war upon the horizon, the company decided that order in its industry could only be preserved through full recognition of this union. A closed shop became the order of the day. Every man was enrolled in the United Leather Workers, and a union at that time of about 6,000 men and women came to dominate the situation.

## Violence and Hunger Win

But the war ended, as all things will, and with that came a change of heart on the part of the company. It announced that all dealings with the union had come to a conclusion. This was in 1922. The answer of the workers was a strike, one that paralyzed the works by its unanimity. For 15 weeks the battle was waged—a



battle in which the company used every means of violent intimidation that it could find at hand. Police were even called in from Lowell to assist in cowing the strikers, while strike-breakers from the outside manned the shops.

The company's tactics were successful. Violence and hunger won the day. The strike was lost. The strike-breakers, having done their job, were gradually dismissed. Then, upon the scene, introduced by the company, stalked the Assembly system. Its purpose, as the little paper pamphlet of the plan frankly states, is this: "The Company desires to provide means whereby its employes may cooperate more closely with the regular plant authorities and may meet with the Management to discuss any matters affecting their mutual relations." The company was its creator, and the paid representatives of the company—Carl Haynes and Frank Woodhouse—are the only men equipped with facts and figures when discussion or negotiation may arise. The workers are completely at the mercy of the Industrial Relations Department, which these two gentlemen represent. Their only means of obtaining information—on the condition of the market, on wages paid elsewhere, on the profits of the company—is through these paid agents of the company itself.

Remembering the cause of the big strike—which was union recognition pure and simple—and remembering that the management through Superintendent Kelly has refused to deal with any union agent on any matter whatsoever, the following hackneyed, hypocritical phrase in the plan must cause a wry smile to come to the face of anyone who reads it: "No favor or discrimination may be shown either by the company or its employes toward any employe in the matter of voting or in any other matter by reason of the employe's race, religious creed, political belief, membership or non-membership in any labor union or other organization."

A union put down by an elaborate use of gunware is certainly not welcome in the plants. Membership in it is not welcomed. The workers know that. The old memory of the bloody threats of 1922 is an intimidation in itself, and the company relies upon that for all it may be worth. And it is worth a great deal. You get the understanding of that, after only a few hours in the "Leather City", as Peabody's banks and business men have proudly dubbed their town.

#### The Fairy Godmothers

In an unguarded moment, Carl Haynes himself confirmed this idea. Encouraged by the success of the trespassing stunt at "the Japan", I decided that it might be informative to pay a visit to the fairy godmothers of the plan themselves. Accordingly, I went to the Industrial Relations office of the company. Mr. Woodhouse, a genial fellow with prematurely gray hair, told me to return the next day, as an important special meeting of the Assembly was in session. It grew out of the increasing troubles at the plant. The next day found me back again. Introducing myself as "one interested in the study of employee representation", I succeeded in meeting both of the guardian angels of the A. C. Lawrence workers.

Although rather cautious in his comments, Mr. Haynes did reveal the heart of the scheme. Upon his stating, of

course, that "it had worked well", I inquired as to how this was:

"Has it reduced turnover or increased production?"

"Well, we have no exact figures on its effect on turnover," Mr. Haynes admitted, "but we have succeeded in killing trades unions here."

"Turnover" is a rather tender subject at the company office, I discovered later. The workers have become decidedly restive during the past year. Spasmodic disturbances have broken out in this department and that. Only the week before my appearance, the entire group in one department quit, under interesting circumstances.

These men had been receiving \$32 per week, it seems, being somewhat above the average in skill. The company had asked them to speed up on a certain order, under piece work, in order to get that order out in a hurry. They had done this, earning on their special piece work around \$40 to \$45 per week. Then, the company, evidently begrudging them the higher earnings, had sought to make up by returning them to their original work at a rate of \$30 per week! The men had walked out, and the company immediately replaced them with others in another department who had been working previously at a less skilled job for only \$23 per week. That, we submit, is a beautiful example of the bankruptcy of the company union system. One set of men are played against the other, to the profit and joy of the company.

A great number of the workers are foreigners—Poles and Greeks perhaps predominating. Their viewpoint is illuminating. "What do you think of the union?" I asked a great number. "Union?" came the most frequent reply. "Me union man." "Have you a card?" "Card? What you mean? Me a union striker. Union man." It is something of the same psychology that existed in the steel regions following the strike of 1919. Unionism has meant the big walkout. Measured by that, they still adhere to unionism.

"What about the Assembly?" "Aw, don't fool with me. Assembly no good. Men don't think it good. Gotta be like company wants."

One or two said the Assembly was the best that they could get, and they accepted it that far. Not a few are indifferent to the whole business. No one confessed any confidence in the plan or expressed the belief that it amounts to much.

#### The Stock Fiasco

This widespread distrust of the plan continues, despite the company's high-pressure effort to erase it through an "Educational" series of little pamphlets—on the duties of the representatives and how they should be carried out. The distrust is not lessened by the employes' disastrous experience with stock-buying. This was tried out upon the workers prior to the smashing of the union. Stock in the company was peddled at \$40 per share. No sooner had the strike been won by the employers than they went into a reorganization of their company. Some \$23,000,000 in stock was frozen out. The workers were compelled to exchange their \$40 share for one worth \$10 on its face. And today this has sunk in value on the Boston market to \$2.50. Thousands of dollars were lost by the men and women in this fine swindle. One man, an office worker, who had lost \$1800



and soon after lost his job, committed suicide in despair. In many other homes there was consternation and bitter disappointment. On the trail of this slimy robbery of the low-paid workers came the company union, born of the company and nursed along by the company-paid fairy godmothers.

It is not without reason that Peabody lies within a stone's throw of Salem, the famed town of Puritan witchcraft. We have a new form of witchery today in Puritania. It is transforming men and women born free, if naked, into servile creatures of the Swift packing interests. Is it not about time that this creation be burnt to the ground, through another strike that will ring through old New England?

More of this we will tell at some future time, particularly of the pension system and the death benefit scheme. At the present moment we want merely to suggest these conclusions:

1. The A. C. Lawrence Company can be organized, through a militant and intelligent effort prefaced by a course of education among the unorganized workers there.

2. Industrial unionism will do the trick, but on a departmental basis. The mistake of the United Leather Workers, apparently, was two-fold: a. In not educating the men, when they had them, into the full meaning of the Labor struggle; b. In relying too much on industrial unionism, without dividing their organization in structure along practical lines.

3. The fraudulent character of the Assembly plan is well recognized among the men. The educational job of the unions today is to show that better success will come of a real organization effort than came in the previous attempt. To do this, the job will have to be carried on by the American Federation of Labor or in cooperation with it.

God grant that some such educational beginning will be made soon in Peabody! We hope that alert and able men will arise, ready and willing to carry the standard of revolt into the Leather Works, to crush once and for all the fraudulent device that exists there through force, and force alone.



### RUSSIA'S RESURRECTION

Russia, on her 9th Bolshevik anniversary, seems to have arisen triumphant from the attacks of War, Revolution and Famine. This picture of a typical Muscovite marketplace has been published by the American Friends Committee, as indicative of the commercial revival. It is this gradual renewal of strength, under new conditions, which has caused so much talk favorable to recognition among American Capitalists.



## EDITORIAL OF THE MONTH

### A Reactionary Paper Attacks Mussolini

**W**E do it, to our surprise. The outstanding editorial of the month just closed, from a Labor viewpoint, is the utterance of the NEW YORK EVENING POST on Signor Mussolini. This anti-Labor daily, one of the most reactionary in the United States, controlled by Curtis of the SATURDAY EVENING POST, has been a loud-mouthed and enthusiastic champion of the Italian Dictator. But today it sings a slightly different song, alarmed at what the "Duce" is now doing. No doubt, it begins to feel that the old boy cannot last much longer in power over there.

In part, the editorial says:

#### MUSSOLINI'S PROGRAM OF SUPPRESSION

(New York Evening Post, November 9)

"Italy presents a spectacle which can be paralleled only by countries which have been governed by despots. Freedom of speech in the smallest degree is a crime punishable by court-martial. Patriotism is identical with loyalty to Fascism. In a word, peaceful agitation against the Government is akin to treason. This is not a new situation in history and it has invariably had one outcome—peaceful agitation being barred, resort has been had to the only other possibility, violence. There is no reason to suppose that Italy will prove an exception to this rule.

"Measures of this severity do not suggest confidence on the part of those in power. They imply the exact opposite. It is when a ruler or a ruling party feels the reins slipping from its fingers that it adopts a policy of wholesale suppression of criticism.

\* \* \*

"They (the repressive laws) indicate the presence of that fear which always haunts those who exercise autocratic power. They admit a serious weakness in the supposedly impregnable walls of Fascismo. If the number of those opposed to the Fascist regime is small, why make martyrs of them by taking away what are nowadays regarded as elementary rights? The plain implication is, either that the anti-Fascists are not negligible in number or that the cause of Fascism will not survive an open battle in the forum of public opinion. Such is the position in which the restorer of the glories of ancient Rome finds himself in his own country."

Soon, an even more sweeping indictment of the Fascist Dictatorship will appear. Issued by the International Committee for Political Prisoners, 2 West 13th Street, New York, it will assemble the leading articles that have appeared of late giving the facts about the Fascisti, supplemented by facts of its own.

It was not for nothing that the American Federation of Labor and all Liberal and Labor voices have been raised in protest against the vile regime of Mussolini. We await the day when revolt will again awaken Italians to the call of Liberty, and will hurl their bloody tyrant from his throne.

## THE WAY OF BRITISH WORKERS' EDUCATION

**A**CROSS those waves which Britannia is supposed to rule, our British brothers have something of the same cleavage of opinion on workers' education as we have in this country. But over there it has taken the form of entirely separate movements, which the broadness of our own educational movement up to now makes totally unnecessary in this country.

The Workers' Educational Association, founded in 1919, is enamoured of "cultural" education, cooperates with the universities and even accepts State aid. The National Council of Labor Colleges founded in 1921, is closer to the labor struggle. It refuses State aid, has nothing to do with universities or non-Labor teachers, and as a consequence has secured the cooperation of many more trade unions than has the W. E. A. Twenty-six large unions have enrolled with the N. C. L. C. group, while only 9 are directly connected with the older organization.

The N. C. L. C. executive committee has even gone so far, now, as to vote to hand over its work to the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, provided that "its educational principles are safeguarded", and that the unions connected with it agree to the change.

Beyond that, there has been the thought of turning Countess Warwick's Easton Lodge into a residential trade union center. Contrary to previous reports, we now learn that this was rejected by the recent Trades Union Congress not only because of lack of funds but also because of the uncertainty as to whether a residential college for a few students was the thing most needed. If such a residential college were as close to the labor struggle as Brookwood and as free an educational institution in point of view as Brookwood is, there can be no doubt that Easton Lodge would have been a great source of impetus to the real workers' education movement in Britain. In this country, Brookwood must be the corner stone of our educational effort, because it is giving us those men and women, versed in pragmatic workers' education, who really know Labor and are not merely outside looking in. A residential college of that type is the great recruiting ground for the forces of education that will do the real job, at least in the United States.

There is one thing certain, and that is that there can be "Company Unionism in Workers' Education" as well as in employer-created economic organizations. In some quarters the idea is being cultivated that a sort of "impartial" education should be given in union educational ventures. What folly lies in that thought! What harm to unionism! How can labor union education be impartial on the question of labor unionism itself? Not only must our educational institutions be under the control of labor unionists, but they must breathe the spirit of participation in the struggle of the workers. Otherwise, they are merely bric-a-brac.



# Who Should Pay For Workers Education

*Continuation of a Discussion*

By ISRAEL MUFSON

I AM sorely perplexed. Here I am asked to write one thousand words to answer the question: Who should pay for workers' education? And I can make my answer simply, emphatically, convincingly by using one word—LABOR. How can I employ the other 999 words and still make sense? I am sorely perplexed.

"Who should pay for workers' education?" seems to me such an academic question—a question propounded merely to start an argument—that its unreality sticks out from every pore. I am tempted to brush it aside, as a carpenter brushes aside a pestiferous fly, and then goes on with his hammering. Who should pay, indeed! "Labor should pay for workers' education" is an axiom, a self-evident truth. That's the way it looks to me. That's the way it should look to everyone else. My essay is finished. Let's pack up the tools and go home. But by now I have barely used up one hundred words and my assignment calls for a thousand. Let me think.

As a child, if I wanted a thing very badly that I couldn't get my parents to buy for me, I'd save the pennies I received from day to day, stint myself in the amount of sweets I'd consume, do odd jobs wherever I could get them, until my fund was adequate enough to purchase that much cherished treasure. And when I got it I knew its value. I'd think about it and experiment and play with it. I'd fondle it and hammer hell out of it. I'd reconstruct it and finally ruin it. But what a glorious time I had had. I knew it—knew it inside and out—and it was MINE! No one to tell me not to do this, that or the other with it. Every moment I knew what I wanted to do with it and did it. My parents may have been startled and grieved at my explorations; at what they thought, perhaps, my destructive tendencies. But they didn't know what was in the back of my head and they couldn't fathom the purposes for which I stinted and saved in order to get that treasure. But the fun was they couldn't say a word or do a thing about it. That treasure was mine, mine, mine.

## Gifts from Others

On the other hand, anything I received as a largess or gift, whether from relatives or friends, I had to be mighty careful in its handling. "Oh, my, look at the way you are treating the present Sue gave you. Do you expect her to give you anything else in the future if you're such a bad boy?" Or, "is that the proper way to handle it? Do you think your father will spend his good money on things you are intent on ruining?" What avail my protestations that according to my lights I wasn't ruining anything, that I was handling the present as discreetly as my purposes dictated. I could not play as I wanted to but as my gift bearers thought I ought to play. And the gift bearers were grown-ups who lived in an entirely different world than I. They were big

people with heads way up in the air while I was a little fellow, barely reaching their knees, pretty close to the dirt. They gave me toys, presents, to keep me quiet and content. I wanted those toys and presents to raise all the din and merry hell I possibly could. It pleased me so. But I had to give way to the dictates of the BIG people. The treasure was THEIRS and I either had to play the game according to the rules they laid down or not play at all. Usually, under such circumstances, the treasure lost all its interest and significance for me and it was soon discarded.

Suppose, then, that the treasure, the toy, the plaything—call it whatever you will—is workers' education. Labor is the child who wants to do the playing. The BIG people are the donors who want to give workers' education to labor. Should the child stint and save to buy its own treasures or should it be satisfied with the gifts that come without effort? Translate your own sermon from the foregoing paragraphs.

Now, then, I am half as perplexed as I was at the start. This essay on who should pay for workers' education, beginning with one word as an answer, has now extended to five hundred. Only five hundred words left to write and then every one will be convinced with me that "Labor should pay for workers' education" is an axiom.

But while my train of thought is running along smoothly on its polished rails at a sixty mile clip headed for common agreement as to who should pay for workers' education, I know what it means to me. Does it mean the same thing to you? There is a sort of controversy going on as to what workers' education should be, isn't there? Culture, extension of organized education, adult education, vocational training, better citizenship, allay radicalism, prepare for the revolution, the factual approach, individual development, for service in the labor movement—catch these phrases as they go flying through space, sort them out and save only those which meet your conception of what workers' education is. Then on the basis of this conception attempt to determine who should pay for workers' education. Let us dally a while and see.

## What is Workers Education?

If workers' education means the extension of existing organized education to those who had no opportunity for such learning the State should properly support such a venture. That would cover culture, adult education, vocational training and better citizenship. If the purpose of workers' education is to allay radicalism then Gary, Carnegie, Rockefeller, Morgan, individually and as foundations, should be called upon to defray the expenses of this sort of learning. Should it mean preparation for the revolution specifically, the Workers' Party rightfully must assume the burden. Is workers'

education a means for self development. Then the individuals profiting thereby should be called upon to pay the costs. But if workers' education is organized for service to the labor movement, my axiom enunciated in the second paragraph and repeated in the sixth still is an axiom: "Labor should pay for workers' education."

Thus the answer to the question, who should pay for workers' education is not simple enough to be squeezed into one word. Editors are astute individuals though I did not think so when I was asked to give my answer in a thousand words when in my opinion one word would have sufficed. Yet I have already used up 750 of my precious thousand and what I could say, now that I have warmed up to the subject, would need more space than the Editor possibly could give me. The answer would in itself be very simple and would not require more than a word were the question less complex. As a matter of fact the question raises another question before an intelligent reply can be made. "Who should pay for workers' education?" has a complement in "What is workers' education?" And since it isn't my duty to define this term pick your own definition out from the foregoing paragraph and apply the answer as to payment.

I cannot be permitted to leave things sticking in the air that way, however. I must have a concrete sugges-

tion for guidance, otherwise what would be the purpose of writing on the subject at all? So I stand by my axiom: Labor should pay for workers' education. Unless this is so, we may have Secretaries of Labor Colleges, Directors of State Departments of Education, Committees, Bureaus and Presidents, but we will not have workers' education. All of these will be like Mt. Sinai lifted above the heads of the bewildered masses and threatening to destroy them unless they embrace the faith. Until it touches the consciousness of such masses, and the labor movement becomes earnest in its efforts to reach them with the message of workers' education, it will be like the playthings heaped around a disinterested child, to be discarded at a glance. But the message must be real, vital and life-giving before it will attract even the slightest attention. It must portray the labor movement as a social organism and not as a business institution. It must deny the capitalistic philosophy of individual gain at the expense of social need. In other words, workers' education in order to be successful must not only be supported by labor but must have something worthwhile to teach. If it fails in either of these it will fail in all.

Labor should pay for workers' education, of course. But it must be workers' education before it is worth while paying for.

## Out of Salem's Experience

By CHARLES L. REED

THE answer to the question, "Who should pay for Workers' Education?" is obvious. Workers should pay for Workers' Education. It is the hope of those promoting Workers' Education that workers will soon finance Workers' Education in the same manner that they are now financing trade unions. A growing number of trade unions are already paying for Workers' Education and there is every reason to believe that the number will increase. You can be sure that if we did not believe this we would not be spending our time agitating and promoting Workers' Education.

This question brings to our mind other important questions which we think should be explained. The first is that the words "Workers' Education" is misleading. As we understand it "Workers' Education" really means "Organized Workers' Education". That is, members of trade unions attend educational classes conducted by trade unions for the purpose of improving the status of the union, the position of the union in other words, by the betterment of the mental equipment of the member.

### Increase Unions' Power

The next point that we would like to make is that Workers' Education as we understand it has a definite purpose; namely, to increase the strength and power of the trade union. This power properly directed means more real wages to workers, shorter working hours and improved living conditions. This is the only kind of Workers' Education that we care about and we prefer to call it "Labor Education."

In this field of Workers' Education the Central Labor Union of Salem and vicinity has recently concluded its second year. Only subjects directly concerning the Labor Movement will be extended and continued during the school year of 1926-27. This past year we conducted two lecture courses: the first on "current problems of the Labor Movement" and the second on "The Control of Wages". The unions financed and supplied the students. Briefly the features were: First, only trade unionists attended, secondly, only subjects directly concerning the Labor Movement were discussed, third, the students under instruction reported back to their unions a full account of the lecture, fourth, the local newspaper published a column of newspaper stuff, fifth, each student was requested to send a clipping to his union journal.

### Care Lest Movement Be Lost

The Workers' Educational Movement has received financial support from individuals and groups outside of the Labor Movement. The question: "Who should pay for Workers' Education?" raises the issue whether certain individuals or groups should be allowed to finance Workers' Education while other groups should not be allowed to. Or to put it the other way around, whether those sponsoring and promoting Workers' Education should accept financial aid from one group and not from the other.

The writer supposes that the all-important question here is: "What is the motive of the Giver?" It really doesn't make much difference where the money comes from. It makes a great deal of difference what possible use is made of it.



## TWO PICTURES

### Coal Company Unionism—The Same Old Story

IT'S the same thing over and over again. William Lloyd Garrison, noble enemy of Negro slavery warned us 80 years ago that that people which relies on any agency but itself for its freedom will never have any.

So it is with the workers. And here and now, in a new book, we have new instances to bear that out. The indictment of "employee representation"—our old friend Company Unionism—is accumulating in volume. In this book *THE COAL MINERS' STRUGGLE FOR INDUSTRIAL STATUS*, issued under the auspices of the Institute of Economics, a severe blow is struck at the pretensions of these schemes.

Chapter XI deals with "employee representation" plans in the coal industry. It sketches out the Colorado Fuel and Iron Co. plan without much comment, referring us in a note to the thorough study of the Russell Sage Foundation on that subject. Its chief light for us is thrown on the other coal schemes—that of the Davis Coal and Coke Company of West Virginia, the West Kentucky Coal Co. of Kentucky, and the Pacific Coast Coal Co. of Washington.

Of the Davis arrangement, although the men are allowed to pay for their own checkweighman and labor commissioner, we read the following scathing indictment:

"Since the employee representatives have no union to support them and since the agreement provides that the employees will not strike, the bargaining position of the employee representatives is considerably weakened. Their position is further weakened by the arrangement which makes it necessary for the company to gain the adherence of merely a majority of the representatives. If the votes of the employee representatives are taken in a manner which enables the company to know each individual vote, rather than receive an announcement of what the vote of the employee representatives as a side is, then the company's position in bargaining is still further strengthened, because each protesting individual marks himself out as an objector to the company's policies."

Summing up, the author finds that the employees' bargaining power under this plan is "not strong, to say the least."

The West Kentucky plan is more of a Mutual Benefit Association, or a combination of representation and mutual benefit schemes. Group insurance, an old age pension system, medical attendance and sick and death benefits are the main features. The scale of wages is below that of the union men in the Central Competitive Field.

The Pacific Coast Coal Co. is still more brutal and frank. It says decisively that the plan is not a "mine labor union." It also takes the stand that "no member of the union would be given employment or retained in

employment." Each employee representative is paid by the company on the ground that "he is also performing a service for the Company"—in which there is more truth than poetry. "The best day wage rate is about \$1.50 below the union wage scale."

Among the conclusions on these plans, these stand out:

"The employees do not have even the force of a local organization behind them to which to give first allegiance. It is questionable whether they could muster the necessary unity to oppose the company if they disagreed strongly with the company's policies." In negotiating wages, hours and conditions of labor, "they are (again) mostly dependent upon the company's good will and the extent to which it follows an enlightened policy."

From the *ELIZABETH (N. J.) JOURNAL* of August 4th, we select two items, giving us a portrait of American industrial life, ugly with servility. The one:

"The 2,000 or more employees at the Bayway Refinery of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, who purchased stock in the corporation under the employees' stock ownership plan, are eagerly awaiting the next quarterly meeting of the directors, scheduled for August 16th. . . . It is expected that the directors of the New Jersey concern will change its dividend policy at the coming meeting. If they do, it will be the first change since the dissolution in 1911. The Standard Oil of New Jersey is the only major unit of the Standard Oil organization which still clings to the dividend rate of 15 years ago. . . . More than any other Standard Oil unit, the New Jersey company has been putting its money back into its property."

The other:

Including about 650 residents of Elizabeth, the 1,400 employees of the Port Ivory, S. I., plant of the Proctor & Gamble Manufacturing Company will celebrate its twenty-ninth semi-annual dividend day next Saturday. The company has chartered the steamer Clermont for an excursion to Roton Point, Conn., inviting all employees and their families. The boat is expected to be crowded to its capacity of 3,000.

Each worker has been presented with two boat tickets and also one combination ticket good for five rides or admissions to amusements at Roton Point. Music for dancing on board the steamer will be played by a popular orchestra. The entertainment also will include selections by a piano-acordion and violin duo.

The company has declared a regular quarterly dividend of \$1.25, plus an extra dividend of \$2, which will be distributed to more than 1,300 shareholders numbered among its employees. This profit sharing plan is open to all employees who have served with the company for a period of six months.

To make these worker-manikins into Men is the duty before us, brothers. Get such facts as are in the coal book to your newspapers. Raise the standard of union revolt everywhere. That's the answer.



Drawn for LABOR AGE by J. F. Anderson

### THE BUDDAH OF BUNK

The Offerings They Bring—As He Sits in 'the Bethlehem'



# How Shall Labor Deal with Dissenters?

*A Vital Question Answered*

By A. J. MUSTE

## THE DISSENTER IN OUR MIDST

*Of all the questions before the Labor Movement, none is of more importance than that of the dissenter in our midst. The youthful mind, which wants to go forward faster than leadership thinks is possible. The zealous or over-zealous firebrand, who demands action and becomes a center of dissension and division if action be not forthcoming. These are factors which every movement has to handle.*

*How shall this be done? No one can essay to answer that question better than Brother Muste. He has a wide grasp of the Movement. He has a ready understanding of its difficulties and shortcomings, as well as of its strength. As might be expected, we have here a beautiful statement of the way the problem can be met, with most effective good results for the organized workers.*

*We are happy also to announce that a bit later on, Brother Muste will deal with the other side of the shield—the duty of the dissenter to the Movement, how he can fit himself into the Movement, what his big role can be.—Editor.*

**W**HEN a savage strikes his foot against a stone, he thinks the stone jumped up against his foot with malicious purpose. Accordingly, he begins to denounce the stone, kicks it, hurls it away, in order that the devil in the stone may be properly punished and if possible put to death. There are still millions of people in the world who think that sickness is caused by an evil spirit and so when one of their number gets sick, the medicine men are called and they begin to orate against the devil, to beat drums, to dance uproariously so that the devil may be punished and driven out. In the civilized world, however, we have learned to deal more impersonally and objectively, at least with the things that happen in the physical realm and to our bodies. We carefully study the cause of disease, for example, and seek dispassionately to apply remedies and preventive measures.

In dealing with social problems, however, such problems as outbreaks of dissent and radicalism in our organizations, for example, we still proceed largely on the old primitive basis. We are sure that these dissenters are devils who must be denounced, orated against, punished, killed off, and that thus the disease will be cured. There is no doubt that we should advance as rapidly in dealing with our social difficulties as we have in the last couple of centuries advanced in our control over Nature, if only in the former case also we would stop ascribing our troubles to malicious devils and would try to locate the causes of disease scientifically and then apply remedies and preventive measures carefully but impersonally. There are reasons why dissent and radicalism break out in social organizations. Let us acquire the habit of look-

ing for them instead of just getting excited, orating and beating the drums.

Now there are certain characteristics of human individuals and groups which lead to a certain amount of clash between the machine and the opposition—the ins and outs—in all organizations all of the time; but if we ask what are the conditions under which the tendency toward internal strife, always present in the union, as in every other social organization, breaks forth in extreme and devastating fashion, as it has recently done in a number of our American unions, the answer is, I think, that such distressing situations arise when you have a combination of the following circumstances: Firstly, that the union does not fully control the field in which it is operating; secondly, that the industry concerned is passing through a period of depression; and, thirdly that the union is passing through a transition period, working out new structures and policies, quite possibly because the industry also is passing through a transition necessitating on the part of the union measures of adaptation. A word of elaboration upon each of these circumstances is required.

## Depression Brings Dissension

In the first place, when we speak of a union completely controlling an industry, we do not necessarily mean that 100 per cent of the workers in that industry belong to the union. A union is in control when a substantial percentage of the workers in the industry is organized, when it is able to protect those workers from discrimination and to secure work for them under union conditions, and when it occupies strategic centers so that it can determine the level of wages, hours and working conditions for the entire industry. Now I think it will be found that when a union thus thoroughly controls its field, it does not suffer from the more serious factionalism, though there may be corrupt officers and critical rank-and-filers, an organized opposition, extremely radical members and all that. The union is getting “results”; hence the machine justifies itself and the members subconsciously at least reckon that they have too much to lose by permitting the regime to be seriously disturbed.

Even a union that does not exercise one hundred per cent control will not, however, be seriously torn with strife when its industry is booming. It would be difficult to prove that under such circumstances the officers are less corrupt or lazy than the average, that the machinery of the union is less autocratic, that it is more idealistic or class-conscious. When depression comes, as with the garment workers, machinists, miners, then turbulent factionalism breaks out; and the real dynamic back of it is the mass that is out of work, that finds its pay cut, that is vaguely uneasy because it finds the

union's control slipping in the shop or the mine. That mass and not the "lefts" is at the bottom of the trouble. The "rights" cannot obtain peace simply by eliminating the lefts nor will the lefts fare any better if when in power they find no effective balm for the hurts of the mass.

In the third place, such a depression is frequently the signal that the time has come when the union must work out a new program of action, that the conventional tactics will no longer do, whether because the industry itself is changing form (becoming trustified, for example, or being decentralized), or because the industry is afflicted with some disease such as over-development, which the management will not or cannot cope with, or because perhaps the union has done about as much as it can for its members through collective bargaining about wages and hours, and must adopt a more constructive policy toward the problem of production, on the one hand, and must envisage the needs of its members and their families more broadly and humanely on the other hand.

#### "Less Cursing, More Thinking"

In other words, when we come upon these cases of severe internal dissension, the point on which to concentrate attention and to look for the seat of the trouble is not the corruptness or inefficiency of the leaders, the stupidity of the rank and file, the wickedness of the "lefts," the presence or absence of democracy in the union (though all these factors may have a secondary bearing on the situation), the chief thing is to study the industry involved and ask what change it is undergoing and what measures the union must take to adapt itself to those changes. When unionists fall to fighting each other unusually hard, it is safe to assume that they ought to be fighting the boss especially hard, or perhaps that, in the words of John Sharp Williams "there ought to be less cursing and more thinking." They are fighting each other because the industry is posing a problem for them, the solution of which they have not found or having found are unable or unwilling to apply.

On such occasions there is sometimes and at some points a genuine division of opinion in the union as to what ought to be the policy. Frequently, however, there are not very serious differences even in the announced programs of the factions on this basic question as to what ought to be done to the industry. Even when there appears to be a division of opinion on this point, it is often for campaign purposes; when you get people talking calmly and off their guard, you find them not far apart.

But industrial depression may, for example, be so intense, the number of surplus workers in the industry so great, that for a moment it is well nigh impossible for the union to make any move at all. Or else, the "ins" argue that the organization must move slowly and cautiously, while the "outs" clamor that only a swift decisive stroke can avert disaster. And, of course, the ins always believe that they are the only ones that are really able to carry out the program honestly and intelligently without betraying the dear mass, while the outs are quite as certain that the requisite honesty and intelligence are to be found only within themselves.

If, then, the basic cause for extreme dissension or factionalism in the unions be economic, the form of such

conflicts is, of course, that of a psychological clash between two groups of people, and we may now comment on one or two aspects of this phase of the subject.

Speaking generally, we may say that there are two reasons why all human institutions and organizations have the problem of dissent and radicalism to deal with. The first is that under certain conditions, people get lazy; the second is, that children are all the time being born into the world. A word of explanation about each of these must suffice.

On the one hand a "machine" (and every institution and organization, however democratic, has a machine—a group of people, who do most of the work and carry the responsibility), a machine in time always tends to get stale, to slow down. When these office-holders first got their positions, they were probably young and enthusiastic; the job was new to them. Gradually the work gets to be an old story to them; they themselves grow older; they are more experienced but less enthusiastic. Being office-holders and not rank-and-filers, they live a different life from that of ordinary members and gradually lose some measure of contact with them. Having held office for a long time, they tend to become over-confident of their abilities; they dislike to lose their jobs; presently, even though they might not be corrupt in any vulgar sense, they tend to become mere job holders, that is they believe that keeping themselves in office and the welfare of the organization are absolutely identical.

#### "The Machine" Goes Stale

There are certain special reasons why this tendency on the part of machines to get stale and slow down is apt to appear in aggravated form in the Labor Movement. As, for example, the fact that no systematic provision is made for the education of labor leaders so that they might grow up to their jobs. There is the fact, also, that the average labor organizer's life is a very wearing one, with long and irregular hours, much traveling about, uncertain family life and so on, all of which leaves the majority of them at an early age tired mentally, if not physically, with no new ideas, devoid of enthusiasm, with nothing to look forward to and physically and spiritually desolate, if they should lose their jobs.

Now if this lesson in psychology and common sense could soak in, if all office-holders would frankly face the fact that this tendency is there and is apt to assert itself in the best of them, they would have a different attitude toward the first signs of unrest and revolt in their organization. Their first reaction would not be "these fresh guys want a job, or are crazy reds and want to wreck the union" but rather "maybe we are not so wide-awake as we used to be; before we knock these guys on the head, let us find out whether by chance they have a legitimate kick."

On this problem of securing responsible and efficient officers, who will succeed in resisting the tendency to get stale and slow down, we may make one or two additional observations. As the unions increase in number and become responsible for the handling of vast sums of money, have to decide questions affecting the livelihood of millions of workers and the well-being of the entire union, have to assume positive and responsible attitudes toward the problem of effective production, they will no longer



be able to depend upon leadership trained in amateur and haphazard fashion. Eventually men and women trained in schools of trade-union administration must match wits with people trained in the schools of business administration.

The effect of better education for labor leaders and active workers on the problem of internal disputes in the union would be at least three-fold. In the first place, up to a certain point at least, there would be an objective test which a man would have to meet before he qualified for a responsible office. It would not be quite so easy for a man to forge to the front merely because he had a loud voice or talked to suit the mob, whether a conservative or a radical mob. A candidate for office would be a man who had passed through a certain training.

In the next place, since officials would be better trained, have a clearer insight into business conditions and the problems of their trade, would know something about their own psychology and that of the membership, they would in the main get better, more tangible results for the mass of the membership. If our contention that internal union conflicts become particularly severe when there is some important failure to get results for the membership, is sound, then we may indeed expect that a better trained leadership will mean a lessening of this evil.

In the third place, officers who are more thoroughly and broadly educated not only in the technique of administration but in the social and spiritual aims and ideals of the Labor Movement will be in the long run more idealistic; at any rate their idealism will have a firm and logical basis and will not evaporate as easily as does idealism based on mere emotion. Such men will also have more resources within themselves, will have avenues of pleasure and satisfaction other than the job, a pay envelope and the power to lord it over others. They will accordingly be less tempted to hang on to the job for job's sake, will be able to look at the job in a more detached manner, will be better able to endure the "humiliation" of losing it and for that very reason will be more likely to make good and so be spared the humiliation.

#### Adequate Pay and Responsibility

Assuming that these various measures to secure competent officers be taken, then, as has been indicated, ways must be taken to provide them with incentives for good work. Here again three points may be mentioned. The first is adequate pay including reasonable hours. Adequate pay does not mean huge salaries, but in labor and especially radical circles, a few instances of big salaries paid to labor officials have often been used as an argument against adequate salaries for all in quite the same way, humorously enough, as the coal operators use high wages paid to a few miners as an argument for keeping down the wage rates for all of them.

Every growing movement must count upon a great deal of voluntary unpaid service from its members; there is, however, no evidence that in the long run any organization gets satisfactory service in proportion to the inadequacy of the remuneration it provides for paid service.

Secondly, to provide incentive for good work to any-

one capable of it, an official position must have real responsibility and authority attached to it. No good man will consent to be a rubber stamp even for a trade union or a revolutionary party. Of course, the official must give an account of his stewardship and of this much might be said, if space permitted; but all experience indicates that giving real power to officials and then holding them responsible for its exercise is sound procedure, while if you give a man a dummy job you will get dummy results.

Thirdly, good men will have incentive for good work only if they have a reasonable measure of confidence and respect from those who employ them. In a fighting movement like the Labor Movement, it is undoubtedly the chief compensation for the man who is to some degree genuinely idealistic and in whom the mere will to power is not absolutely dominant. Now there are not many organizations in the American Labor Movement at present where the members really trust their leaders. One does not have to travel a great distance to find trade-unionists who will take the employer's word before that of their officials. One does not often hear, except from leaders in distress, the exhortation "to trust your leaders"; indeed, there have been many who hold that sound policy involves keeping the rank and file distrustful of the leadership. No organization will get far unless there is mutual confidence and respect as between members and leadership. To distrust a particular leader for cause shown or on reasonable suspicion is justified but a general philosophy of suspecting the leaders is absurd and paralyzing. Either the leadership of the movement actually is as corrupt, lazy and inefficient as it is sometimes made out to be, or it is not. In either case, it is the movement that stands condemned as much as, if not more than, the leadership.

If the leadership is actually low grade all the time, it can only be either because the movement has no high grade men or because the work the leaders have to do is of such a nature as to call forth only low grade men or to cause high grade men to deteriorate. But if the group habitually mistrusts its leadership without sufficient objective reason, the psychologists will tell us that it is because the group distrusts and is uncertain of itself. People who can only assume that a leader must be corrupt must have a lurking suspicion that they would be corrupt in similar circumstances. A group that is exploited and oppressed is apt to have an inferiority complex about itself, to mistrust its own character, ability and experience. Such a complex the group will often tend to transfer to its leaders, and will deep in its heart think less highly of its own leaders than of the opposition.

The remedy will come with increasing triumphs of the Labor Movement, leading to increased self confidence and through better education both of leadership and membership. It should be clear, however, that subject to proper safeguards, the philosophy of mistrusting leadership must be definitely combatted and the policy of trusting properly trained leadership must be energetically established.

We have been regarding the problem of factionalism from the standpoint of the officialdom, but let us now look at the matter for a moment from the standpoint of the opposition.

## Those Troublesome Children

Children are all the time getting born into the world, that is, a fresh crop of youngsters is always coming up in any movement that has any life left in it at all. Now youth, as is well known to all older and wiser heads is always a nuisance. Younger people are vigorous, aggressive, sure of themselves, very serious about themselves as a rule. They always want secretly or openly to displace their elders. That means, of course, that they must criticize the way their elders are running things. God knows, the elders are usually most obliging and make this part of youth's task delightfully easy. But young people will not refrain from finding fault simply because there is not any serious fault to be found, for this would mean accepting a passive and subordinate role which it is not in the nature of vigorous youth to do.

Every so often in the development of a trade union or any other social movement a crisis requiring fresh leadership develops. Some rebellious youngsters are on hand to take advantage of it. They become the fathers or saviors of the movement, whom future generations reverence and idealize. Such a group included George Washington, John Hancock, Samuel Adams and other well known young men of 1776. Samuel Gompers was a young man with a new idea who appeared on the stage of trade-union development in this country at such an opportune moment. Five or ten years later, however, there is a fresh crop of youngsters in the movement, just as capable doubtless, just as devoted to the cause and just as rebellious and self-assertive. But now there is no serious crisis in the movement; it really can dispense with a revolution. For all this, as already indicated, the youngsters probably will not refrain from attempting to "revolute" and set things straight. Only this time they will go down into history for their trouble-making as plain trouble-makers and not as daring innovators, social pioneers, saviors of mankind. In other words, factionalism assumes serious proportions in our unions because we have not solved the problem of utilizing constructively the surplus energies of the young people of the movement.

## Note the Roman Catholic Church

There are two main ways in which that may be done. In the first place, we can deliberately establish a policy of grooming promising young people for official positions in the movement and so both prevent the scattering of their energies in aimless revolt and secure the infusion of new blood into our official families. The tradition in many trade-union bodies at present is to keep young people out of important positions. Business houses have clearly recognized the error of such a policy and the best of them eagerly and carefully watch for young blood in the various departments that may be promoted and thus provide new ideas and driving force. We must work for the establishment of a similar tradition in the Labor Movement. Incidentally, the Roman Catholic Church would seem to furnish us an interesting example. Control in the Church has always been very highly centralized and rigorously exercised, but throughout its history "the way to the top" has been remarkably open for talent and genius regardless of

origin, and we have here perhaps one of the reasons why we have in the Church an organization which as an organization has had no rival in the history of civilization.

## Service is Youth

Giving a few of the most promising younger members a chance to hold office is not, however, the only way to keep a movement young nor will it suffice by itself. Somehow, the idealism and the energies of the youth of the movement as a whole must be linked up with the day to day activities of the movement.

The way in which other social groups (churches, for example, with their Christian Endeavor societies, Epworth League, etc., political parties with their democratic athletic clubs, young people's socialist leagues, communist youth leagues, etc.), accomplish this purpose is to let the young people form their own organizations through which to co-operate with the larger movement. Such youth organizations will be found to discharge three chief functions. In the first place through them the young people provide themselves with recreation and social life. They gain in the second place education in the ideals and practical achievements of the movement, gaining it much more efficiently because it is not imposed upon them from above by their elders but is organized by themselves and conducted largely on the project method, the project being precisely the efficient running of these youth organizations. Thirdly, they contribute directly in numerous ways to the activities of the larger movement, by distributing literature, ushering at meetings, waiting table at church suppers, singing in choirs, conducting meetings in outlying districts, engaging in all sorts of welfare work, recruiting young people, etc., etc. Withal the energies of youth are used constructively in ways that heighten rather than dissipate the morale of the movement. The more capable among them find outlet for their urge to power in leading their own group and by the time they seriously aspire to leadership in the movement as a whole they have served an apprenticeship which has given them a thorough grasp of the ideals of the movement and a drill in efficient administrative methods calculated to protect them and the movement from ignorant mistakes and erratic experimentation.

Is it not possible, desirable, nay, urgent, to form what might be called trade union youth clubs? Has not the movement in American suffered for lack of some such development? Why should there not be some youth organization directly linked up with the trade unions, especially here in America where the trade union is as yet the only type of labor organization that has any considerable hold on the masses of workers? It is true that there would be a special danger to be guarded against in that the trade union is a bargaining organization and no dual organization arrogating to itself bargaining functions in an industry could be allowed to arise; but this danger is not an insuperable one. Set over against this the increasing loyalty to the unions that would be felt by thousands of young workers who would find at least part of their recreational and social life in direct contact with their unions; the impetus workers' education might receive if it were spontaneously initiated and organized by young people themselves; the





# WEALTH AND WANT—THE SIMULTANEOUS DANCERS

To the blare of the false "Prosperity" band, they dance merrily together. Then will the workers see them for what they are? And will the awakening in America come from acute unemployment, predicted by the London Daily Herald, British Labor organ.

enormous amount of practical service that trade union youth clubs might perform in spreading the propaganda of trade unionism, manning the picket line in time of strike, collecting relief funds, stimulating favorable opinion toward unionism, arranging meetings; the practical training the young members would thus receive in efficient and responsible conduct of organizations and which would stand them and the movement in good

stead when they were called to assume responsibility in the unions themselves.

We have touched upon a few phases of the problem of how Labor shall deal with dissent in its ranks. Of fully as much interest and importance might be a consideration of the problems of how dissenters ought to act toward the Labor Movement. That is, however, a story for another day.

# The Drama of American History

*A New Series of "Brookwood Pages"*

By ARTHUR W. CALHOUN

## 1. Getting in On the Ground Floor

**I**N school you learned that America was discovered in 1492 by Christopher Columbus. If you didn't know that, you took another year in the second grade.

But what did that bit of information matter? Why should we care whether the amazing find was made by a ragged Italian or a clever Jew or a pushing Pole? Or why should we care whether the year was 1492 or 1529? What's the use of history anyhow?

Suppose, however, that we take another tack and try the proposition that America is a by-product of Capitalism. That may be a humiliating admission for inhabitants of the country that looks today like the whole cheese, but this is not the first time that a side line has crowded out the main show.

America is a by-product of Capitalism. When western Europe got far enough along in its economic development to raise the town merchant capitalists to the seats of the mighty in place of the feudal landlords who had mouldered there before, things livened up a bit. Pressure of population and zeal for profits led abroad after resources and markets, and in the chase for Asiatic trade, one of the scouts of Capitalism stumbled without knowing it on America. America is a foundling of the Profit System.

As soon as the moneyed got wise to Christopher's lucky strike, they naturally cudged their brains for some way of cashing in on it. It did not take much brains to suggest that the first thing was to appropriate all the natural resources of the new world for their own pockets. Accordingly titles to all the land seen or imagined were as rapidly as possible vested in a gang of adventurers who either possessed the ear of kings or held a club over their heads.

There is the root of the matter. If you are sore today because the price of coal is high or because John D. soaks you too much for gasoline, remember that the vast natural wealth of the United States, which was not created by the hand of man, was passed by force or fraud into the hands of a crew of high-binders, who thereby got control of the means of life in America and were able to use this monopoly power from the beginning as a means of levying tribute on less favored comers and separating from the producers most of the wealth that has been created by man. Who ought to celebrate Columbus Day? Consult the income tax lists.

### Feudalism Attempted

But a virgin wilderness yields nothing of itself. If the buccaneers of fortune were to get away with any of the wealth in their own time, they would have to dragoon somebody into working it for them; so an impudent attempt was made to establish in America the worm-eaten feudal system that had already gone to pot in Europe.

Since the basis of wealth and power in America must at first be land-ownership, it seemed natural to organize society on that basis. In the Hudson valley, great estates were laid out to be owned by lords and worked by vassals for their benefit. The same stunt was tried in Carolina and in Florida, and there were elements of it elsewhere, as in Pennsylvania under the goodish Penns.

If the lords had been able to get away with that—, but there is no use of dealing in historical ifs. Land was so abundant and population so scant that ownership of the soil gave little immediate power. Somebody was sure to offer acreage for sale dirt cheap as a means of getting a little ready cash. Somebody was very likely to squat on a remote corner of the lord's domain and farm without leave. Distances were too great and population too sparse to make it feasible to patrol a huge domain in order to prevent trespass, and the problem of keeping serfs from running away was too great.

Thus the feudal system in itself held little promise of fat returns. To neglect the protection of the frontiers, so that they remained dangerous and forbidding might help to hold the workers under eastern exploitation, but the interests of land speculators pushing ever westward forbade steady reliance on such a questionable device. Great lords like the Penns might buy enormous areas from the Indians and hold them out of use for a rise in value, thereby keeping western settlement thin and difficult; but even so, there was enough cheap land within reach to give the poor a fighting chance at economic independence,—unless something else were done to hold the workers in bondage.

Thus it early became apparent that land monopoly in America would yield little returns for a long time unless some form of servitude could be established. Accordingly the lords of affairs fell back on apprenticeship, bond servitude, and chattel slavery, or on attempts to regulate wages by pains and penalties.

The most harmless sounding device was apprenticeship, which became a favorite scheme in the northern colonies. Now apprenticeship on the face of it is a reasonable scheme of industrial education, and is capable of being used for restriction of competition in a given craft and for the protection of industrial standards. Colonial apprenticeship, however, was directed rather toward the securing of a regular and manageable labor supply, and it is to be feared that the poor apprentice sometimes found his time wasted in menial chores that had nothing to do with the learning of a trade or suffered years of apprenticeship beyond the number necessary for the acquiring of the requisite skill. That the apprenticeship system (which continued well into the nineteenth century) was in effect a system of servitude is suggested by the fact that in the South the apprentices came under some of the same laws as applied to Negro slaves.



## Haunts of Horror

The middle and southern colonies, however, did not content themselves with so mild a manner of servitude. They launched their industrial life on the basis of actual slavery of persons imported from Europe under contract to serve for a stipulated period of years. Needless to say, the ships in which these luckless victims crossed the seas were haunts of horror and death, and it was only the hardy chattels that survived to be knocked down at the port of entry to the highest bidder or driven through the country in droves chained together in quest of buyers. If apprentices had some show of protection and some guarantee of some sort of education, the hapless bond slaves were much less sure of elementary human rights. On this gruesome system of bondage was laid the foundation for the industrial eminence of Pennsylvania, in particular, but it would also have played an outstanding role in many other colonies had not Negro slavery come along to take its place.

There were practical reasons why white slavery gave place to the servitude of blacks in all the country south of Pennsylvania. The mother country was not anxious to lose too many workers, else how could capitalists at home make due profits out of cheap labor. Furthermore it was feared that if too many white artisans went to America diversified industry would promptly develop, which would result in competition harmful to British interests. Besides, a population of colonial whites with diversified economic life might develop unseasonable longings for independence. Consequently, though England might be willing to dump in America paupers, criminals, and debtors, and though enterprising concerns might add to the supply of slaves by kidnapping people in English streets and bundling them off to the colonies as bond servants, it seemed necessary to promote the importation of African Negroes, and the colonies' hesitancy about this form of labor was discouraged by British authorities, often themselves interested in the business of man-stealing in Africa.

It is hardly necessary to dilate on the horrors of the African slave trade or the enormities of plantation slavery itself. Wherever climatic conditions warranted, this species of exploitation became the foundation of society, the white slaves were subjected to this grosser form of competition and often degraded accordingly, and it was made well-nigh impossible for a considerable class of free wage labor to develop.

## Tears and Blood

Indeed, taking the colonies as a whole, free wage labor was not very abundant and not very free. In New England, where it was a more considerable element than elsewhere, vicious attempts were made to shackle it by legal limitations on wages, which, indeed, proved in the main unenforceable by reason of the scarcity of labor and the abundance of cheap land, but which betray, nevertheless, the grasping spirit of the propertied class that ruled. The exigencies of a people thrust into the wilderness with a dearth of craftsmanship will be urged in defense of the attempted regimentation of labor, but whatever technical apologies may be offered for the details of legislation, there is no escaping the fact that New England in colonial days, far from being the abode of

## FIRST BLOOD AT PASSAIC

FIERY tests are as nothing compared to what the workers of Passaic have faced for unionism. Still, week after week, their meetings continue with ever-renewed enthusiasm. Neither the oncoming winter nor the ten-month period of strike has dampened their ardor, or made them feel one whit less determined in their effort to smash company unionism.

Rewards for their courage are coming. Slowly, yes, but surely. First blood was drawn from the employers this last month, when the Passaic Spinning Co. capitulated. For the first time in Passaic's history, the U. T. W. has been recognized. No closed shop has been set up, but the union is there and machinery for arbitration of disputes has been established. Some light of democracy is penetrating into the dark and filthy atmosphere of that long-Prussianized city.

There still lies ahead the task of bringing the Prussians in the Botany and Forstman and Hoffman mills to reason. It is encouraging to learn that several of the citizens formerly bitterly anti-union in their viewpoint have come over to the conclusion that the mill people must have unions of their own choosing and not schemes foisted on them by the employers. There is one way that this strike can be won; that is, for all unions, which have done so splendidly in the past, to continue their support of the battling strikers—until the Victory, now in sight, is fully won. The Relief Committee address is still: 743 Main Ave., Passaic, N. J. We urge you all to aid in destroying company unionism there by this effective means.

brotherly democracy as the school histories used to teach, was the seat of as cold-blooded exploitation as any that has graced the annals of capitalism.

Thus the foundations of the United States were laid in tears and blood, in the groans of separated families and the cries of bruised and broken labor. If on the whole the American workers have fared somewhat better than their comrades in other lands, the superiority of their lot is in no sense due to any wisdom or goodness of the ruling class, but merely to the fact that the supply of natural resources has always been so great as compared with the population that the shrewdest and most grasping exploitation has never quite levelled conditions to the dire misery of poorer lands.

The American workers have thus no cause to be thankful to their masters or to be proud of the nation that the masters made and ruled. If the American workers are to recognize any patriotism at all, it can only be a feeling of loyalty to the claims of American labor, and a determination to put American labor in the saddle and make America a workers commonwealth. Thus we might, perchance, clear the ground floor and get in on it.

(As parallel reading, consult:—Oneal: The Workers in American History, published by the Rand School of Social Science.)

## HOW TO OBTAIN LOCAL PUBLICITY

## 2. Helping the Reporter

WE have come to agree that the newspaper man is human! He may be a bit of a cynic.

Causes of all sorts come to him, to secure his aid. The seamy side of life presents itself at every turn of his activity. But of all the personal forces at work today, within the limits of our present system, the newspaper man ranks high up on the ladder both as to liberal views and a willingness to serve.

The reporter is influenced by what the city desk will accept, the city desk is influenced by the "policy" and interests of the proprietors. But much more can be done with all of them that is now being done.

Labor, very frankly, has the habit too often of shunning the reporter. Is it not a common sight, on coming into a hotel lobby where a labor meeting is in progress, to find the reporters up in arms at the way that they are *Not* given news? After all, they have a number of assignments. The easier their task is made, the more genial will they feel toward the man or group who eases the way for them. It would pay labor unions, when they are at some critical news stage of their work, to invest a few dollars in a good publicity man, who understands the labor game. Many more dollars than he would cost are thrown away in other waste motions.

In many smaller localities, this will be impossible and is even not necessary. There the central body could agree upon one of its members as its publicity representative; and in order that he do a good job, all the unions in the community could agree upon issuing their publicity through him. (Where a labor college exists, the secretary of the labor college or one chosen by him might best do the trick.)

This publicity representative cannot merely study up on the facts that he must present. He must also know how to put the message across. He must understand how to get out news releases. He must understand how to quote officers of the unions affected, and how to make suggestions that will *MAKE* news. More than that—on which we will dwell again in detail later—he must get in touch personally with all the newspaper men in his town, through whose hands his stuff will go. He must know them personally, in order to know their particular slants, what they like to know and what they do not care about, how far he can go in detailing things as yet unpublished but which throw light on the story he is giving them, etc. Very frequently, to get a news story across, it will require his going to the city editor or his representative, and explaining the significance of the story from a news viewpoint. His explanation is much more readily made when the city editor knows him personally. It is, therefore, one of his first steps to advise the newspapermen that he is on the job.

## OPIUM DREAMS

## Of the Man Who Was a Fool

ARE you a dope fiend?

No, you are not. You repel the idea with righteous indignation. Very well. Maybe you are, maybe you are not; it all depends on who may be reading these pages at this moment. There are all sorts of "dope", brothers; not merely the kind that fills your body and brain with a momentary bliss and then sends you to the Hell of awakening despondency.

Among our so-called American workers—slow-witted slaves, thousands of them—there is a form of opium-peddling at work as fatal and destructive as the poppy itself. It is the opium "prosperity".

Cold-bloodedly, for the workers up to this date there is no such thing. We challenge any one to dare back up the contrary. It is the corporations who are reaping the prosperity of the present hour. Look at these figures for the Four Fat Years of 1922-1925:

Corporation	Net Earnings	Interest & Dividends
Profits (1922-1925)		
Allied Chemical .....	\$ 73,704,980	\$ 45,971,748
American Can .....	50,502,787	22,074,107
Am. Car & Fd. ....	24,785,580	22,800,000
Am. Locomotive .....	14,142,150	23,233,920
Am. Smelting .....	47,918,370	33,405,368
Am. Sugar .....	35,766,930	20,362,443
Am. Telephone .....	413,714,055	335,608,372
Am. Tobacco .....	81,901,675	64,884,686
Famous Players .....	19,485,809	10,398,852
General Electric .....	147,227,263	106,076,014
General Motors .....	294,465,180	150,486,188
Intl. Harvester .....	48,023,781	36,854,971
Mack Trucks .....	26,529,705	10,032,587
Rem. Typewriter .....	6,710,524	3,853,422
Sears-Roebuck .....	54,627,487	12,964,427
Texas Co. ....	101,981,908	80,068,000
U. S. Rubber .....	56,153,621	42,140,375
U. S. Steel .....	434,828,619	337,481,832
Western Union .....	59,352,836	37,448,419
F. W. Woolworth .....	80,793,741	26,700,000

It is Leland Olds, economic editor of the Federated Press, who presents us with these facts. He does even more. These enormous profits have been made, out of what? Out of the increased productivity of the workers, largely. And the workers? Not merely have they been denied wage increases in correspondence with this increased production. They have also been robbed of their jobs, as production has gone up. In other words, as production has increased, the number of workers in each industry has decreased.

That, in a period of "prosperity"! What about the period that will inevitably come—of slump in industry? The corporations, out of their huge profits, as always, can sit pretty. The workers, having spent much of their income on installment buying—itsself a sign of a diseased condition—will face the old, old query: "Where can I find a job?" They will again be begging for a bit of bread.



# Following the Fight

*With Comment Thereon*

By THE MANAGING EDITOR

## OUR AIM:

To Educate the Unorganized—To Stimulate the Organized—  
To Unity, Militancy and Intelligent Action.

## NOW: TO DO IT!

**P**ASSING resolutions is only the beginning of the real thing. It is a sort of profession of faith, on which we must act.

Now that the Detroit convention of the American Federation of Labor is a thing of the past, its varied decisions in the way of progress must be put into effect.

Every man who thinks will agree that this is a job which goes down into the roots of the Movement. The campaign of publicity against Company Unionism and Open Shoppery cannot be carried on solely from the top. In practically every local community the stress of public opinion is against the union movement. It is through the local agencies of Labor that this viewpoint must be changed, particularly because it affects the actions of those who should be members of the movement.

We can sometimes take leaves out of the employers' books. Here is Henry Swift Ives in October, calling upon the employing and business interests everywhere to unite against "Nationalization", against workmen compensation laws with state funds (the chief hope of the workers), against the "costly day labor system of carrying on public works"; against the workers and all their "evil works", in other words. And the New England division of the National Electric Light Association applauded his utterances to an echo.

With our enemies equipped with great economic power and with such unity as this to boot, the various crafts of workingmen in every local community should figure out ways and means to make

a similar united drive against the propaganda leveled at them at the present time.

The central body is the natural agency for such a drive. It is not bothered with wage negotiations. It has none of the detailed work to do that local unions have. Its business is of a wider and more general character. Here, then, is work cut out for it.

The central body might begin, with the A. F. of L.'s action in mind:

1. To hammer on the facts of Company Unionism throughout the country.

2. To bring to light the facts on the particular union existing in its vicinity.

3. To batter at Open Shoppery's lie about over-high wages—in the U. S. A. and in its particular city.

Every workingman, everywhere, should feel it his duty to answer these questions: "Is Company Unionism a substitute for Trade Unionism? If not, why not?" "Are your wages and those of the workers in your craft, too high? If not, why not?" The truth is: That these questions CAN be answered but that, by and large, they are NOT being answered. Which is the occasion of grave handicap to the Movement, halting its march onward.

Union advance today can be halted only by trade unionists themselves. Unless they are alert, annihilation faces them. With the new prospect of organization at their doors, they have but to heed and act—and Employerdom will be put on the defensive.

## MORE SANCHO PANZAS COMING

Toward the "Land of High Wages" They Wend Their Way

**W**HEN the good Don Quixote, with his head quite twisted by readings about knighthood, set out upon his adventures, he promised a poor laborer, Sancho Panza by name, the government of an island if Sancho would act as squire. So together they went forth upon the most insane expedition of which the world has ever heard.

Capitalism has sent knights errant to Limbo, but Don Quixotes of its own have appeared upon the scene. From lands afar they come, to look upon the Holy Grail of Mammon: the Triumph of the American Machine. The United States has grown to be the Land of the

Millennium, where workers are supposed to pick their silks and satins and touring cars from trees, and to revel in one long happy spell of luxury.

Premier Bruce of Australia, poor man, having been soundly trounced by his fellow-citizens on the question of a Dictatorship over Labor in his island, has turned his eyes toward our land of milk and honey. He is sending us another delegation! Employers and workers are to come to learn how "America does it". Quixote, in this instance, will not come himself, but will send his Sancho Panzas to scout around for themselves.

Government of an island may be held by telling the glorious story of the "Land of High Wages". Will the Australian hopefuls be shown the true conditions here? Will they look around and behold:

The thousands of miners starving in West Virginia and other centers (under the "gifts" of the "American Plan"); the textile workers suffering from their \$14 to \$18 a week average wage, and being asked for more wage cuts; the auto workers, from whom wages are being stolen by cuts, in the face of increased production; the unemployment of thousands of building tradesmen, through a wasteful system of seasonal work; the hard-pressed garment workers, unable to live out of their miserable wages, but requiring help from other sources; the fact that in general, our workers everywhere have been denied the fruits of their increased production.

They will Nor be given those woeful pictures, nor the others that could be cited. They will not be told of the wage slavery that exists in our "Open Shops", where men are afraid to think or to express their thoughts for fear of being fired.

Perhaps we can find some way of getting the story to them. Perhaps, if we know when they come, we can have a little demonstration for them, presenting the facts in cardboard signs! Even that will probably not open their eyes. For they are picked men, and none are so blind as they who will not see. BUT, their coming is another challenge to us. We must hasten to bury deeper and deeper the lie—now so widespread—that we are an over-paid and under-worked lot of loafers in this country.

#### MACHINES, MEN AND MONKEYS

**D**IMLY seen as yet, a number of things are becoming clearer, little by little, in our current game of life.

Two articles—strangely enough, in the *YALE REVIEW* of October—give us the cue to them. "Democracy or Dictatorship" is considered in the one, the author viewing with much awe and some uneasiness the increased number of dictatorships in our modern world. After looking at these gory and lusty bastard children of the "war for democracy", he is unable to come to any conclusion, save to warn us that we may have a dictator of our own some one of these days, here in the United States.

That we have the choice right now of dictatorship or democracy seems to have eluded him, and yet it is brought to our attention by the other article, "From Minimum Wage to Mass Production". We are reminded therein that the idea of a legal minimum wage has been laid low by the United States Supreme Court in its decision on the Arizona legislation. The minimum wage law of that state was declared unconstitutional—as are, of course, practically all laws for the benefit of the workers. But in this case we need not be so disturbed, thinks the author, Valeska Bari. Mass production is rapidly doing what legislation would have done. It is establishing a minimum living wage.

Of that we are far from sure. Indeed, we are more than cynical about it. When a good dose of depression comes we will see what we will see about how mass production can keep up wages. And beyond that, the whole business of present "high wages" has been shown to be nothing more than a widespread myth. But there is another consideration of much more concern than wages, even, that is bound up in this.

It is: that out of the mass production frame of mind, American workers are gradually allowing an Industrial Dictatorship to be set up on these "free shores". Chained to the machine, they are developing a machine mentality. Thinking is becoming a painful process. Eating and drinking and animalizing in general are dangerously near becoming the only business of life. The machine-produced propaganda of the Industrial Dictators is accepted by machine minds as something to be taken in, without comment or criticism, just as the other routine of life.

It is that state of mind that transforms possible men into erect-walking monkeys. The chief difference between man and animal is the ability of the one to THINK and to express his THOUGHT. When he fails to do so, he becomes that much less of a man.

Unionism has a big job ahead in this task of educating the unorganized, of rescuing them from the danger of losing their faculties as men. It must remove the rubber-stamp from their minds. It must make them Industrial Democrats. If it cannot do this, then its chief object has been defeated. For it is only men who THINK who can overcome that animal fear that beats the workers down. And to be up to the job, Labor men themselves must shake off old industrial traditions. They themselves, equipped through education, must show the examples of courage and daring that will make others follow suit.

#### TOO GOOD TO BE TRUE

Or: The Railroaders' Dream

**L**ET us say, it is a rainy, dismal night. A man stumbles along the highway, a rotten wreck from his own dissipations. He is scarcely able to put foot after foot.

A friend, needing his help in an adventure, picks him out of the muddy road, brings him to a warm fireside, cares for and nurses him until he has much of his old self back again. Then, together they venture forth to battle with some enemies of the said friend—desperate fellows. In the fray, both are damaged a little, but out of it they come with a good bag of money and prospects of great fortune. Then, the friend, not merely content with his original helpfulness, takes the former wreck again into the house, treats him as a master of the place, bestows riches on him, and encourages him to grow fat and healthy. At the end of which time, the former wreck turns to the friend, thumbs his nose at him and speaketh thus: "You have been the cause of all my troubles! Keep away from me hereafter!" What would we think of such raw conduct?

Such, nevertheless, is the tale of the wrecked railroads of before the war, of the good turn the U. S. Government did them, and of the reward they give the said Government, now that they are strong and rich once more. From every business organ and from the echoing voice of the daily press comes the song of praise for private initiative and against "Government operation".

Anyone who is familiar with the pirating history of our railroads is not at all amazed by this strange ending of the story. We will pass it sadly by, to look upon another phase of the same business.



## NO WONDER HE LOVES COMPANY UNIONS

Mr. Burton Gets a Job

AH! HA! The plot thickens. Last month we gave some attention to that "Babe in the Woods", Ernest Richmond Burton. We noted his "conversion" to company unionism, reported in his new book, and hinted that such stuff as he got out must have been inspired by an anxiety to get on corporation payrolls.

Lo and behold! Our good friend, "Bob" Dunn, gives the facts to back up our hint, in a Federated Press release of October 4. Mr. Burton has actually got on a corporation payroll. Scarcely was his book off the press than the White Motor Company of Cleveland took him over as their "labor manager". His "boss", Henry C. Metcalfe of the Bureau of Personnel Administration—who wrote

the foreword to the book—also got a soft seat for licking the hands of the bosses. He has been appointed "personnel director" for the Continental Baking Company, anti-union child of the notorious Wards. Having landed thusly, the Bureau of Personnel Administration promptly went out of business, its chief job apparently having been to land these two lounge lizards a job.

If American workers have any brains left, they will refuse to "fall" for these smooth-tongued pie-card artists. We look forward to the day when these "personnel" parasites, pale and trembling at the roar of revolt of the workers, will hastily depart for parts unknown.

Yes, today the railroads are bursting with "prosperity". Their dividends show it; their publicity departments echo it. But what about the humble servants of these masters? Where are their crumbs? Are they to be treated as harshly as the Government?

We have our fears. The question, at least in part, is about to be answered. Arbitration hearings under the Watson-Parker law are now being held for the conductors and trainmen of the eastern railroads. The princely wages now received, for these men who carry our lives in their hands, are as follows: Conductors, \$6.70 per day; assistant conductors and tickets collectors \$5.50 per day; flagmen and brakemen, \$5.24 per day. They ask increases of around \$1.00 per day for each.

Did the railroads come forward, in the goodness of their hearts and say: "Prosperity is here. We gladly grant the increases." They did not. They sang the old song of poverty. Hence: the arbitration. That is all that could be expected. Anything else would be too good to be true. It would be an idle dream.

P. S. These princely wages should be called to the attention of the "public", and also those still lower wages of the trackmen and shopmen. Where do they come in? Answer: They Don't.

## THE POOR FELLOW ON THE ASS

Being the Strange Tale of Steel Profits, Etc.

IN the long, long ago—as we have said elsewhere on these pages—a poor simple-witted fellow was persuaded to accompany a man gone stark mad on the business of being a knight.

The poor fellow followed the "knight", riding upon an ass. After each "battle" that the insane Quixote took part in, his deluded follower, Sancho, would rush up and ask for the government of the island which had been promised him. But the "Don" would wave him aside, with a noble air, saying that that was yet to come.

Those workers in our fair land who take stock in the "prosperity" promises of Big Biz are brothers of the poor fool upon the ass. They are always looking for

it, "yet to come". Which words of wisdom are drawn from us by the statement of the United Steel Corporation, the General Motors Corporation and the Pennsylvania Railroad, regarding their profits. Within 24 hours of each other, these "benefactors of mankind" came forth with the statement that they had made record profits in 1926.

"Proofs of prosperity" cried they! The profits of the General Motors for the first nine months of 1926 was more than those of the entire year 1925—a staggering total of \$149,317,553, for the first three-quarters of this year. The U. S. Steel's net grab for the third quarter of 1926—\$52,626,826—was the highest since the 1918 war period. The Pennsylvania increased its dividend on common stock from 6 to 7 per cent, the highest since 1907.

"Profits", as Dr. Harry F. Ward has shown in his little pamphlet on THE PROFIT MOTIVE, are merely getting something for nothing. But that "something" comes from somewhere. It does not just grow up. It is taken out of the increased production of the workers. This "prosperity" of these corporations, with their machine-ridden, open-shop slaves, is taken out of the hides of these workers.

**MORAL:** Don't let us be brethren of the Sancho of the ass. Let us tell these things to our newspapers, and inquire: Why don't the shopmen on the Pennsylvania, the section men on that road, the men in steel who can not call their souls their own and the auto slaves, share in this "prosperity" of their master corporations?

## THAT LONG LOST ARTICLE

**B**EG pardon. It is coming. The advertised article opposing Union-Management Cooperation, companion article to Mr. Mufson's defense of the idea, will appear in the January issue. It will be a helpful contribution to the literature on the subject.

# Vital Issues

## UNIONISM PAYS

**I**T is to weep! With the present rotten average wages throughout the country, think of what the figures for the unorganized must be, when the higher-paid organized workers are eliminated from the figures.

In answer to the Employers' hymn of over-high wages, we might sing, lustily and long, "Unionism Pays". Look at the union painter. In 1913, in the city of Baltimore, his wages were a meagre 37½ per hour; today, they are \$1.00 for the same period of time. In St. Louis, he got 57 cents per hour in 1913; in 1926, he gets \$1.50. In New York, he received 50 cents per hour 13 years

ago; now it is \$1.50. So on and on go the figures, furnished by the U. S. Department of Labor.

Then, there is the much-maligned bricklayer. He also knows what value unionism holds out for him. In Baltimore, in 1913, he was getting 62½ cents per hour; today, it is \$1.62½. In St. Louis, he was receiving 70 cents; now, it is \$1.75. In New York, the figures run the same as St. Louis for the two comparisons.

Is it not about time to tell some of these things, in their right light, to your newspapers? We can drown out much of the stuff about employer-made high wages, by showing that unionism brings results, and unionism only.

## THE SACRED COW SPLUTTERS AND STUTTERS

### And We Have a New Law Against Strikes and Strikers

**F**ROM the days of Pilate and before, courts of "justice" have covered the pages of history with injustice and brutality. In all great crises, they instinctively are on the side of the Powers That Be; for they are creatures of those powers.

So is it, even in these United States of America at this very hour. Those few of our judges who have some sense of honor left, out of the years of chicanery to which they have been devoted, are blinded by hopeless legalisms. They can no longer think or see straight. They know nothing of the life of the common man.

Comes now the Sacred Cow at Washington—our infallible Supreme Court—to let workmen know once more that the Law is their ever-growing enemy in industrial matters. We are having the chains riveted on us one by one, even as the Slave-Power-controlled Supreme Court riveted the chain on the Negro, before the Civil War.

Says that Fount of Wisdom, speaking even through its "liberal" members:

"The right to carry on business—be it called liberty or property—has value.

"To interfere with this right without just cause is unlawful. The fact that the injury was inflicted by a strike is sometimes a justification, but a strike may be illegal because of its purpose, however orderly the manner in which it is conducted. To collect a stale claim due to a fellow member of the union who was formerly employed in the business is not a permissible purpose.

"In the absence of a valid agreement to the contrary, each party to a disputed claim may insist that it be determined only by a court. To enforce payment by a strike is clearly coercion. The Legislature may make such action punishable criminally, as extortion or otherwise. And

it may subject to punishment him who uses the power or influence incident to his office in a union to order a strike. Neither the common law nor the Fourteenth Amendment confers the absolute right to strike."

Under the guise of righteousness, we have here a "precedent" which will lay the ground for another "precedent" preparing the way for still another "precedent", whereby in the long run—on top of the accumulated injunctions—workingmen will gradually become slaves.

Beyond that, do not the learned corporation lawyers on the Supreme Bench know that the workers long ago lost faith in the courts? Do they not know that, from bitter experience, the workers understand full well that the common man has small chance in our halls of injustice? Do they not know anything about the Law's delay, and the costs thereof, and the solemn fact that in the end the worker's chance of gaining a claim over a corporation becomes smaller and smaller the higher the appeal travels?

It matters little whether they know these things or not. The Supreme Court of 1926 is the same old Supreme Court of the Dred Scott decision. Why should it not be—when there sits upon it men who have earned their bread and butter from the generosity of the corporations? Its Chief Justice—Injunction Bill—has a life-long history of tyranny against the workers. Defeated ignominiously for President by the people of this country, in one of those unusual waves of moral disgust, he is promoted by his friends of Big Business to become the arbiter of our destinies.

Our contempt for the Washington Sacred Cow increases. It is not in the courts, but in contempt and defiance of the courts—through aggressive non-resistance—that the hope of the workers lies.

### THE "GENEROUS ELECTRIC" FRAUD AT LYNN

We suspected it. Now we know it. Those salve spreaders of the "General Electric" have been pulling the wool over the eyes of every one who came to see

their Paradise at Lynn. We have gone and beheld with our own eyes. The mask will be torn off this product of Scabbery in the January issue of LABOR AGE.



# In Other Lands

## AN ANNIVERSARY AND OTHER THINGS

With continuous conferences, bickerings and charges, the British coal strike approaches some sort of a conclusion. The mine-owners, becoming even more Tory than the Tory Government, hope to smash the union once and for all. It is a rather futile game—even though district agreements and an extension of working hours are likely to come out of the present battle. Public sentiment, as expressed in the very recent municipal elections, has swung far Labor-ward. The government cannot afford to ignore this viewpoint of the country, on political grounds alone.

While Britain thus continues to snarl up its chief industrial problem, Soviet Russia celebrates its ninth anniversary of Bolshevik Revolution. This Ninth year finds the Soviet more strongly entrenched than ever, with production gradually increasing everywhere throughout the land. There is also a noticeable movement among bankers and industrial leaders toward recognition of the Bolshevik Republic. The Standard Oil's thoughts in that direction are re-echoed by Col. Hugh Cooper, engineering representative of big electric power interests. Joseph Stalin, increasing his grip on Russian control, has strengthened the recognition movement by tending toward a policy of lessened revolutionary propaganda outside Russia and a nearer-capitalist program within the country itself. Gradually the influence of the Soviet Government is making itself felt in Turkey, China and other Asiatic countries, so much so that an "Asiatic League of Nations" has been openly hinted—especially by Britain, alarmed by its own loss of prestige in China and adjoining lands. So wags the world along, as 1926 comes to a close.

## "THROUGH PROSPERITY TO SOCIALISM"

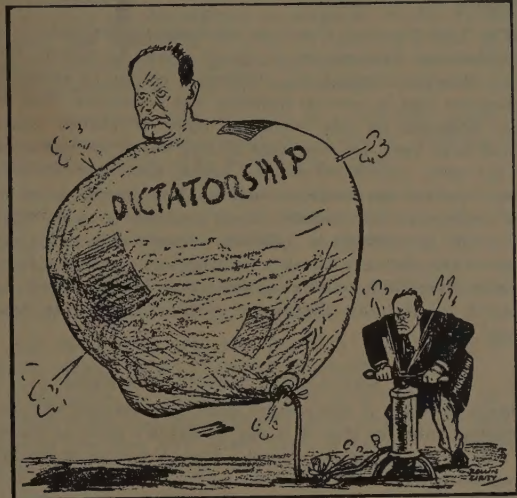
Hunger is a terrible thing. It is the weapon relied upon by the Tory Government and the mine-owners to whip the British miners. Each proposal that Baldwin makes is less favorable to the men, but their answer has been right along, from first to last: "No. We starve before we surrender." The last Government move has been a typically Fascist one, in barring the mine leaders from speaking in certain areas where the men are said to be wavering. Today that may work, but tomorrow it will bring the whirlwind.

While such events continue, a committee headed by H. N. Brailsford and J. A. Hobson, the economist, recommended to the Labor Party conference at Margate the Independent Labor Party program of advancing Socialism through the advocacy of the living wage. "Through Prosperity to Socialism" is their slogan, an apt and pragmatic one: the aim being to outline in detail for the workers how such a wage can be won, and to show that its full fruit can come only out of a complete change in the present system.

The Labor Party conference as a whole was disappointing to the I. L. P. group—who are much to the "Left" of the official party without being communists. They challenged the attempt to expel the latter, however, though the resolution was again passed by a large majority. It is very doubtful that it will be carried out, as a number of individuals and sections echoed George Lansbury's state-

ment: "They've been to prison with us! When you tell us to turn them out, we won't."

The I. L. P. program, in a modified form, did receive endorsement from the Labor Party. Not, however, until after Ramsey MacDonald had declared it a meaningless gesture.



BEGINNING TO LEAK!  
So Says the "New York World"

## NIPPONESE NEED UNITY

Out of Japan comes continued news of trade union awakening. Discussion is on foot concerning the need for closer unity in the workers' forces. It is only since 1919 that the labor movement there has felt quite sure of itself. In that year, it emerged from the period of governmental suppression, following the iron and steel strikes of early 1917. As might be expected, much division and confusion still marks the character and organization of the unions. The leading body of the country is the "Nippon Rodo Sodomei" (Japanese Federation of Labor), with a membership of approximately 45,000 out of a total of 250,000 trade unionists. Even all these, included in 18 different federated groups and 108 unions, form 5.5 per cent of all the workers in Nippon.

To add to the confusion, Communist unions were expelled from the Japanese Federation and formed their own Trade Union Council, the "Hyogikai". Today it contains about 34,000 unionists. As set forth by K. Matsuoka, the secretary of the Japanese Federation, in the October "Labor Monthly", the need is not merely for the united stand of all trade unions, but also an understanding on the questions of Communism vs. Socialism. As all sides profess devotion to the principle of "unity", some basis for sincere cooperation is by no means an impossibility.

## AN OVERWHELMING "NO"

From Cape York Peninsula, in the North, to southernmost Tasmania, has come the voice of Australia's citizenship. It



## LABOR AGE

has thundered an overwhelming "No" to Premier Bruce's attempt to foist a new form of tyranny on the Australian workers.

Whenever we look, far across the Pacific, to that Island Continent, we have cause for rejoicing. We may disagree, partly, with the desirability of some of the things for which Labor stands in that far-off land. But we cannot fail to admire the solidarity that swings the Labor Movement to get what it wants when it wants it. Would that for America we could say the same!

The Tory Premier, it will be remembered, proposed that the National Government be given power to control the labor situation through the arbitration courts, in essential industries and in general industry and commerce. Had he been endorsed on this point, the fight for shorter hours would have been lost, the issue arising out of the decisions of the state courts for shorter hours, while the national body held for the longer schedule. The answer came in the September referendum: Bruce's scheme was defeated by a vote of 1,400,000 to 1,000,000. Immediately after the vote, Bruce left for Europe, to "pick up a wrinkle from Friend Mussolini", if he can, the Labor forces hinted. At present, general rejoicing is the order of the day in Australia.

### DANISH ROT AND HAMBURG STRIKERS

Much is rotten in the present state of Denmark. The unfortunate thing is, that it is not Denmark's fault so much as that of the world in general. After a winter of exceptional unemployment, the Danish workers have been forced to go through a summer of the same sort. At least 18 per cent of them were unemployed. For the dark days of the coming winter, there is not much prospect of change. A different story might have been told had the Social Democratic Party been able to put through its capital levy program. To maintain itself in power, however, it had to rely on the "Left Radicals" (who would be called "Progressives" in our language.) They were not strong for any such methods as the levy on capital, and it went by the boards. Disarmament was much advanced by the Social Democrats, but their economic program proved a dud.

While the Danes are looking forward to this cheerless prospect, the dockworkers in Hamburg have burst forth with a vehement protest against the Dawesization business in Germany. They have gone on strike, 18,000 of them. They demand: the restoration of the 8-hour day, the abolition of double shifts and a 20 to 30 per cent wage increase. The Government has attempted to force them to terms practically continuing present conditions. Against the advice of their leaders, the men voted for a strike and are now out, 100 per cent. The strike, opening on October 1st, has interfered, at least temporarily, with the shipping of German coal to England.

### KING PILSUDSKI AND "A MYSTERIOUS TYRANT"

Harken to the latest news from Poland. Pilsudski would be King. The ex-Socialist looks with greedy eyes upon the ermine, and British Tory statesmen encourage him to go ahead and take it. So says the Polish correspondent of the "New York Evening Post" on October 28th. "As Warsaw is largely influenced by American bankers," says the dis-



patch, "it is wondered here what the latter would think of the extinction of the Polish Republic."

Judging by their enthusiasm over Mussolini and the special favors given him, they would like it very well. In a fervent speech, the Duce has just told his Fascists that his regime stands like "granite" against the "liberal-democratic state." Which is due largely to Andy Mellon's kindness in presenting Mussolini with a great part of the Italian debt. Mussolini made much of the new repressive laws on newspapers, unions and university professors, as great contributions of the Fascists. These laws are: That no lawyer or doctor can practise his profession, unless he suits the Fascists, that no university professor can teach except on the same condition, that no editor can edit unless he is stamped with Fascist approval, that no worker can have a job without Fascist sanction. The last vestige of democracy has been crushed with the appointment of all local governors by the Dictator. The Chamber of Deputies is about to be abolished altogether, merely leaving the Senate, whose membership is appointed "by the King".

Pilsudski is gradually introducing similar measures into Polish governmental action. And it is the Wall Street rulers of that nation, which chanted about a "war for democracy" who are aiding and abetting those "mysterious tyrants"—to whom Mussolini jokingly referred in his anti-democratic speech!



# At the Library Table

## CONFIRMING THE "LABOR AGE IDEA"

James Harvey Robinson's "Humanizing of Knowledge"

**S**UPERSTITIONS go the proverbial cat one better. They not merely have nine lives, but nine and ninety. Among none do they thrive so virilely as among those who disdain the idea of superstition altogether.

One of the great handicaps to the spread of knowledge through the world is the petty superstitions of men of knowledge. They must not "sacrifice their professional standing." They must not write popularly. They must wrap their ideas up in as difficult a phraseology as possible, to the awe but not the advancement of the uninitiated.

"Labor Age" has had some experiences of its own along that line. Men who know the problems confronting labor, who understand the economic background of many things which labor men cannot be acquainted with, absolutely disdain to present their ideas in such form that the man who runs may read. Our idea, which we proclaimed aloud on divers occasions, was and is that a fact is no less sound because it is explained clearly, simply and in an attractive manner. Indeed, when men fall back on high-sounding words and technical language they frequently do it because of their own obscurity of thought.

Our plea is for the discussion of labor problems in a way that all can understand. From a scientific quarter now comes a voice, confirming this idea—stating that it should be used by men of knowledge of all sorts, for the advancement of science and learning.

Everyone who is a labor editor, everyone who is engaged in workers' education or thinking of entering upon such a career of service, must read this little booklet of James Harvey Robinson's on the "Humanizing of Knowledge." It will start them out on the right track—in getting up attractive labor journals that can be read with interest or in getting across a message in Workers Education that will really mean something.

It is with great glee that we (who have been pioneers for "popularizing labor facts" in a wilderness of long-

winded and long-faced research works) read the following criticisms of the "over-wise" men of science:

"They fear criticism on the part of the members of their learned guild. A specter haunts them, not of a puzzled and frustrated reader, but of a tart reviewer, likely to accuse them of superficiality or inaccuracy. There is a heavy prejudice in learned circles against the popularizer. Those who are disinclined, or mayhap, unable, to write plainly and pleasantly for the layman, are prone to denounce all attempts to popularize knowledge as vain or as mere expedients to keep the pot boiling." (Page 78).

And our enthusiasm amounts to a 'Hurrah' when we glimpse this statement, which our "cultural" workers educationalists should take so much to heart:"

"What a considerable and beneficent revolution would take place in teaching and writing if teacher and writer should confine himself, at least in addressing beginners and laymen, to telling only such facts as play so important a part in his own every-day thinking that he could recall them without looking them up!"

For the getting over of a message of facts "the story is the thing." Says Professor Robinson:

"The story, or dialogue, form is very congenial to the human mind, and the unfolding of a narrative or tale is always the best and surest form of appeal.... (Almost everything has come to seem a story to me!)"

Not merely in the pages on "Writing for the Reader's Sake," but in other parts of the booklet will worker and worker educationalist find much of value. The booklet contains but 93 pages, and can be easily tucked in one's pocket. We congratulate George H. Doran and Co., (244 Madison Ave., New York City) for publishing it and the other booklets on "Humanizing Knowledge" which will follow it. We hope that they will receive the wide circulation they deserve.

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—Dr. J. E. Kirkpatrick,

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ARTHUR V. COOK, British  
Transport Workers Union and  
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the job of Educating the Unorganized!